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Editorial

WHO OWNS THE GREEK ALPHABET?

Responsive memories must have been set vibrating in many classical minds by the passage in Mr. Ellis' recent article¹ in which he referred to the eagerness for Greek letter names for non-collegiate organizations (p. 426). Once at a western college I was called to the president's office to answer a telephone inquiry as to an English word that would mean "love of the beautiful." A few days later in the local newspaper I noticed that Miss ——— was soon to entertain the newly organized Philocalian Card Club! At least twice I have received letters which stated that the writers were forming certain societies and, from the study of fraternity and sorority names as found in the newspapers, had evolved names which seemed euphonically satisfactory; but that, before proceeding further, they wished to learn the meanings of these "words." Nearly every one of us must have had similar experiences.

Mr. Ellis displayed some qualms of conscience as to whether he should have aided αἱ πολλαὶ in such assaults upon college prerogatives, but in my judgment without due reason — the real battle was lost a long time ago. On most campuses the mystic letters are worn by students who are quite innocent of Greek, and those who might be thought of as having the best right to their use — I mean the students in our classical departments — are the very ones who are all too frequently regarded as too studi-

¹ Cf. CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXIV (1929), 421-28.

ous to function fully as members of a fraternity. Many a classical senior has found in Phi Beta Kappa a comfort — cold and belated — for the loss of what would have been more warmly welcomed in the freshman year. This consideration was distinctly present in the conscious motivation of at least one student who played a large part in the founding of one of the societies out of which Eta Sigma Phi was soon to be constituted. He was himself a member of a national fraternity, president of the senior class in one of our largest universities, and captain of the football team. In fact he received the *Chicago Tribune* medal as being the player most useful to his team mates of all in the Big Ten that year. Coveted honors enough for any one man, surely! And yet he found time to think of means for enhancing the social life of his comrades in the study of Greek. This was one root in the formation of a society which of course had several other, and perhaps more worthy, roots as well. A university president of some distinction has cherished the deliberate policy of trying to reduce the exclusiveness and snobbishness of fraternities and sororities on his campus by encouraging the introduction or founding of so many Greek letter chapters that all sense of relative prestige would be destroyed and that no one need be without some fold who has the slightest desire to be inside. To this result, whatever may be thought of it, the rapid expansion in recent years of honorary societies with Greek letter names, one in almost every field of learning, has all unconsciously given a powerful impetus. In such a labyrinth of letters even the most ardent devotee of the fraternal system gropes and falters to find his way. Only Phi Beta Kappa, known and acclaimed of all, still moves stately with years and proudly unconscious of rivals, like tragedy in Horace's phrase

indigna

ut festis matrona moveri iussa diebus.

On the college level the situation has thus been met. The Greek letters, or at least three of them, have been rescued and brought back to the home of their friends. Eta Sigma Phi not only ministers to the social need of some of its members and satisfies

the craving for scholastic honors on the part of others; it has also welded together an eager and rapidly growing body of enthusiasts who are devoted to classical studies and are sworn to extend their influence.

In the high school, however, there remains something to be done. The proponents of other fields of study and a large group of educational theorists and administrators who think that two years are enough (almost too much) to devote to any subject whatsoever, unite to prevent our students from reaping the full values of the classical course. Now the crowning glory of the secondary program in Latin is the *Aeneid*, studied in the senior year; and it is at this point that Eta Sigma Phi again comes forward with concrete help. In our last issue (pp. 476 f.) announcement was made of a medal which is to be conferred under the auspices of this organization to high-school seniors who complete Vergil² under certain conditions therein specified. This award can not fail to stimulate the better class of students to continue Latin for two more years, and it is to be hoped that Latin teachers throughout the country will lend their full cooperation in giving enthusiastic publicity to the enterprise and in ordering the medals. Vergil's bimillennium will be most truly honored by enlarging the numbers of those who study his writings, and this will be found a most helpful means to that consummation.

R. C. F.

² Many schools have only three years of Latin with alternation of Cicero and Vergil in the third year. In such cases seniors completing their fourth year of Latin, regardless of the sequence of authors, are eligible (if otherwise qualified) to receive the medals.

THE CHARACTER OF HANNIBAL

By H. V. CANTER
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In Hannibal ancient history finds one of its most interesting as well as most pathetic figures. His fame as a general and statesman, well recognized in antiquity, remains secure. For steadfastness of purpose, organizing ability, and mastery of military science history can scarcely show an equal. But Rome was victor over Carthage both on the field of battle and in the record of their struggles. Carthage perished leaving no historian to tell her story; hence Hannibal in ancient times had no sympathetic interpreter of his life and deeds. We learn of him almost solely from partial and even hostile authors, who did not understand — apparently did not care to understand — his real character. Occasionally Roman and pro-Roman writers say something favorable about Hannibal, but usually they distort and exaggerate features of his character which were necessarily stern in that day. The Romans, far from doing justice to their great antagonist, far from forgiving, much less forgetting, him, indeed, scarcely thinking of him without a feeling of rage and dread, tried in every way to blacken his memory, wrote and repeated stories of his barbarities, and poured out the poison of their hatred in baseless and revolting accusations.¹ True the calumnious inventions of Roman hatred were generally rejected by the painstaking and scrupulous Polybius. It is true also that most of the specific charges against Hannibal, when subjected to scrutiny, supply

¹ Omitting here charges in particular instances, I note that Roman literature, the work not only of historians but also of poets who indulge in a sneer, echoes with derogatory epithets, direct or indirect. An actual count shows thirty-seven such, with a total of sixty examples.

materials for their own refutation. Hence Hannibal's moral character stands high in the estimation of historians like Ihne and Mommsen, and biographers like Dodge, Morris, and others, who see in the great Carthaginian a figure which towers above the greatest of his contemporaries, a man essentially more magnanimous and humane in war than his Roman antagonists and conquerors. The heir alike of Hamilcar Barca's hatred and of his genius, the embodiment of national revenge, Hannibal was yet less barbarous than his nation or his times.

Little is known directly of Hannibal's private life and character. In education he was probably superior to any of his opponents. We learn that he kept about him literary men like Silenus and Sosylus (Nepos, *Hann.* XIII, 3; Polybius III, 20, 5), the latter of whom was his teacher in Greek, a language which he spoke (Cicero, *De Orat.* II, 18, 75) and in which he composed a history to the Rhodians on the acts of Cn. Manlius Vulso. He was proficient in Punic and possibly other languages (Dio Cassius XIII, frag. 54). But it is not probable that we shall ever have a satisfying moral and intellectual profile of Hannibal, shall ever know whether he was a good husband and father, a kind friend, a man of confidences, courtesies, and tender sympathies. We read of detached facts and anecdotes about him — nearly all having to do with military operations — but it is doubtful whether any other man ever played such an important part in history about whom so little of the purely personal has been preserved. Here and there in the sources various expressions of this nature are attributed to Hannibal, but usually the rhetorical pointing leaves their genuineness open to suspicion, *e. g.* his pleasantries about Fabius (Plutarch, *Fab. Max.* XII, 4), his ranking of great generals (Plut., *Tit. Flam.* XX, 6; *Pyrrhus* VIII, 2), and his dying words (Livy XXXIX, 51).

It is the purpose of this paper to examine briefly the evidence for the main charges against Hannibal, charges (in specific instances) of cruelty, perfidy, sacrilege, avarice, and immorality. As preliminary to this task we must note several ancient direct characterizations of Hannibal that have reached us, the substance

of which is as follows. Livy's well-known account (xxi, 4, 2-9) deals with fundamentals. After mention of Hannibal's physical and social qualities that made him a highly valuable soldier, fitted for the opposite duties of obeying and giving orders, Livy adds that these virtues were balanced by great faults — inhuman cruelty, perfidy more than Punic, total disregard for truth, no reverence for things sacred, no fear of the gods, no regard for an oath, no voice of conscience. With these charges, allowing fully for a Roman historian's aim to set things in a light favorable to his country's cause, it is impossible to reconcile Livy's wholly favorable characterization (xxviii, 12, 2-9), in which, closely following Polybius, he cannot decide whether Hannibal was the more wonderful in adversity or prosperity.

Polybius' discussion of Hannibal's character (ix, 22-26) is the most discriminating and truthful one available. It can be reviewed here only in barest outline. Hannibal was the one man and one mind of all good or ill that befell Romans and Carthaginians [in the Second Punic War]; a correct estimate of his character is not easy, because of the influence exercised upon it by counsel of friends or by force of extraordinary circumstances; he was obliged to abandon some cities which had gone over to him, and to treat others harshly by removing the inhabitants and seizing their property, in consequence of which he was accused by them of impiety and cruelty; the prevailing opinion about him at Carthage was that he was greedy of money, at Rome that he was cruel.

Diodorus Siculus, an author devoid of critical faculty or historical insight, gives three short general accounts, which yield little of importance. Justinus (xxxii, 4) says that Hannibal never reclined at his meals, was moderate in use of wine, and practiced such continence amid strong temptation that one would be disposed to deny his African origin; that so judicious was his command that he was never annoyed by any conspiracy of his soldiers or betrayed by their want of faith, although his enemies often attempted to expose him to both.

In Dio Cassius (xiii, frag. 54) is found a sober and somewhat

detailed review of Hannibal's character: All of Carthage's allies against Rome taken together were scarcely his equal; he could understand clearly and plan expeditiously every project taken to heart, albeit sureness is as a rule the outcome of deliberation, instability, of a hasty disposition; his ability to appraise accurately the ordinary and the unusual, to meet each occasion with suitable words and action, was due not only to natural capacity but to cultivated mental powers; his physique was perfect, and his body was kept agile, hence he could with safety stand his ground, run, or ride at full tilt; he never overburdened himself with food nor yet was weakened from want of it; he saw that most men were to be trusted only in so far as self-interest is served, and dealt with them on this basis; he treated harshly anyone who seemed desirous of doing him harm; he showed excessive deference to those of whom he had need, gave them that which he denied himself, shared the same fare, the same danger with them, and was the first to perform every task demanded of them; toward others he was very stern, with the result that people felt toward him either good will or fear, according as he shared their similar condition in life or as he held aloof from them.

In writing of their conflict with Hannibal the Romans faced a good deal of humiliation, either to be acknowledged or explained away. The latter alternative was usually chosen and its realization was facilitated by depicting Hannibal either as a superman or a monster. The pain of defeat and disaster would obviously be mitigated if these were represented as coming from an antagonist superior to human and natural obstacles, a warrior favored with help and guidance more than mortal.² Doubtless

² See Poteat, "Hannibal Trismegistus," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, XXII (1926), 189-201. To instances there adduced additions could be made, *e. g.* Livy XXI, 58, a terrific storm (not elsewhere mentioned) played up to show superhuman endurance; Livy XXII, 2, Hannibal in the swamps of the Arno; Nepos, *Hann.* XI, naval victory by throwing serpents upon the enemy's ships; Livy XXII, 16, blazing faggots tied upon the horns of oxen, "a trick by which Roman eyes were fooled" (and brains as well), actually an invention to excuse Fabius for letting Hannibal escape; Pliny, *N. H.* VIII, 7, 1, combat of a prisoner with an elephant, a wonderful man's elephant which knew "inside stuff" wonderfully well. To save wounded pride Roman invention was on the rack.

too in many cases Hannibal's acts and achievements were exaggerated to make even more enjoyable and more dramatic to Roman readers his later reversal of fortune. This disfiguration of Hannibal's intellectual and moral character, early begun and continued when his undertakings had become a common theme of the rhetoricians, was vainly combatted by Polybius, who comments on the inconsistency in, and perversion of fact by, historians, in that they represent Hannibal as a prodigy of strategic skill and boldness and at the same time as acting with amazing indiscretion. Polybius maintains that Hannibal conducted his expedition into Italy with consummate prudence and was reliably informed as to country, roads, peoples, and the practicability of his undertaking. The absurd accounts of Hannibal's passage of the Rhône and the Alps may well have caused the belief that he was a reckless, mad, cruel, and inhuman leader, for having guided to almost inevitable annihilation an army on which rested in great part the destiny of his country. Misrepresentation and calumnies, begun during his life, were doubtless in many cases transmitted to later writers through the words of the intense patriot, Q. Fabius Pictor, and L. Cincius Alimentus.

Hannibal of course bore a full share of the antipathy felt toward his countrymen. Not a little ill-repute was bequeathed to the Carthaginians by the parent stock, the Phoenicians, who had made themselves hated in earlier days by their grasping commercial policy and love of gain.³ The Carthaginians were very generally regarded by the Romans as cunning, deceitful, treacherous, and devoid of honor.⁴ Brought into frequent contact with traders and strangers and forced to match wits with them, they in-
Apparently everything but the stars in their courses fought for Hannibal: swollen waters at the Trebia, misty fog at Trasumene, and accomodating dust and sun at Cannae.

³ See Plato, *Rep.* 436 A, where love of gain is said by way of censure to be their absorbing passion; so in *Laws* 747 C debasing pursuits and love of gain are said to create in them craft instead of wisdom.

⁴ As evidence of the general charge I have noted thirteen uncomplimentary epithets, with a total of thirty-eight examples. Intense hatred, especially that engendered by the Punic wars, doubtless led the Romans to believe the Carthaginians treacherous by nature, a quality attributed also to the Phoenicians;

evitably practiced sharp bargaining in the interest of gain. Moreover, Carthage's commercial methods were selfish, oppressive, and offensive. Her ambition was to exclude from African and Spanish waters the vessels of other nations and to control a monopoly of trade. Her sailors took the utmost care to conceal the trade routes followed, as we see in the story by Strabo (II, 5, 11) of a Carthaginian ship which preferred to be driven out of course and sunk rather than reveal to her Roman pursuer the course to the Cassiterides (Tin Islands). Carthage early had commercial and political interests in the Western Mediterranean. Rome's more important commerce developed much later; but long prior to the third of the treaties between the two powers (279 B. C.) trade regulations, protection of allies, etc., were matters of serious dispute, questions which passed easily and surely into the more irritating issue of territorial control and finally, with Rome's winning of Magna Graecia, into the momentous one of Rome's foreign policy, her political and territorial expansion. A long period of conscious rivalry and smouldering antagonism, soon to burst into the flame of war, are the genesis of Rome's sustained hatred of Carthage and her Hannibal.

Turning to special charges against Hannibal, that of sensuous living deserves scant consideration. He and his army spent the winter following the battle of Cannae at Capua, celebrated in antiquity for its mild climate, wealth, and luxury. Voluptuous Capua became the fondly cherished Nemesis of Roman legend. Its alleged enervating effect on Hannibal and his army became a favorite theme of rhetorical exaggeration, one that is repeated to this day. Polybius says nothing of loose living at Capua. On the contrary he relates (XI, 19, 3) that Hannibal did not once while in Italy release his army from service but kept his vast numbers under control like a good helmsman. The falsity of such popular rhetoric is shown by the fact that, although the war after-see details of the Pygmalion—Dido story, *Aeneid* I, 346-68. A sketch of the Tyrians by Justinus XVIII, 4-6, also echoes the tradition of treachery, *e. g.* in Dido's dissimulation to Pygmalion, her pretense of sinking money at sea, the disingenuous bargain for land at Carthage, her contagious subtlety, and the deceit of her deputies in regard to the demands of Iarbas.

wards was one of changed character and subsequent campaigns were less favorable to Hannibal, he and his army could and did fight effectively after Capua. The tradition was no doubt invented to give a malicious interpretation of Hannibal's inactivity during this period. Apparently the same purpose is seen in the charge of Hannibal's illegitimate love affair. According to Livy xxiv, 41, 7, Hannibal married a woman of Castulo, Spain (cf. Silius Italicus iii, 97); but nothing more is known of this union unless it is referred to by Silius Italicus xvii, 334, who makes Hannibal express the wish to return from Italy to his son and faithful wife. Appian, *Han. War* vii, 43, mentions in a casual way indulgence in Lucania, of which Pliny, *N. H.* iii, 16, 4, says merely *oppidum Salapia, Hannibalis meretricio amore inclitum*. Such irregularity was scarcely a matter of serious censure in ancient times, and doubt is cast on the entire charge by testimony of an opposite character in Justinus xxiv, 4.

The reproach of avarice has little foundation. Livy's characterization (xxi, 4) contains no mention of avarice, but in xxxv, 38, 2 Hannibal's natural inclination toward this failing is said to have led him to plunder places he could not hold. This is an inconsistent and gratuitous fling, since the real purpose, as Livy states further on, was to prevent anything of value from falling into the enemy's possession. In the ordinary acceptation of the word avarice, Hannibal was far above such weakness, was occupied body and mind by an undertaking and issues more momentous than those of mere self-interest. War against Rome was for him a necessary national undertaking, not one of personal ambition or aggrandizement. In so far as his acts have the color of avarice, it was avarice of a public character, necessary to meet the needs of a large army and to prosecute far from home a war of ever changing character and genuinely perplexing problems. At least a partial basis for the charge of avarice is to be seen in the account which Fabius Pictor gave of the origin of the war, that Hannibal, a zealous supporter and imitator of the ambitious Hasdrubal, had brought about the war with Rome on his own authority, for selfish purposes, and contrary to the wish

of Carthage. Fabius' account is vigorously refuted by Polybius (ix, 8). There is no reason for supposing that Hamilcar and his successors aimed at the establishment of a Spanish kingdom independent of Carthage or acted contrary to the wishes of the majority of their countrymen. Rhetorical exaggeration is responsible for the alleged treasonable tendencies of Hanno and the Senate. As for Hannibal, Carthage maintained the war and supported him for seventeen years. The war's entire course of events refutes the speech which Livy (xxx, 20) ascribes to Hannibal on leaving Italy. The charge of avarice finds expression also in the words of the Carthaginian ambassadors, who sought to cast on Hannibal the entire blame for the disastrous outcome of the war (Livy xxx, 22, 1). This speech by Livy clearly rests on a belief that Hannibal was guilty as charged, but it is almost certainly not the original, for Hannibal was still influential at Carthage and it would have been perilous for ambassadors to use the words reported by Livy. In any case the trustworthiness of the embassy is impeached by the fact that its members are represented as coming to ask the Romans for the renewal of a peace of whose terms they acknowledged they knew nothing.

As to Hannibal's lack of reverence for the gods and lack of dependence upon them, the charge fails because the evidence available is of positive and contrary character. A thrill of genuine religious experience is recognizable in the story of his boyhood oath told by Hannibal himself to Antiochus III of Syria. Roman ambassadors had almost succeeded in bringing Hannibal into suspicion with the king. Polybius' account (iii, 11 f.) shows that he (Polybius) believed Hannibal spoke and acted with genuine feeling and sincerity; and that Hannibal succeeded in convincing the king that he felt himself still bound by the oath and would never prove false to the gods by whom he had solemnly sworn. Deep religious feeling is evident likewise in the treaty between Hannibal and King Philip V of Macedon (Polybius vii, 9), in which the oath is taken in the presence of Greek and corresponding Phoenician divinities invoked in solemn and impressive language. After crossing the Rhône Hannibal addressed his men,

dismissed the assembly with words of praise to the men, and a prayer to the gods in their behalf (Polybius III, 44, 13). Livy tells us (xxi, 21, 9) that Hannibal went to Gades, fulfilled his vows for the victory of Saguntum, and bound himself by new obligations, provided his other undertakings should have successful issue; that he prayed fervently to Jupiter and other gods (xxi, 45, 8) to witness his promise to his soldiers at the river Po. Valerius Maximus (III, 7, Ext. 6) quotes Hannibal's words to King Prusias, which are sometimes cited to show his lack of reverence for religion. When the king reported omens unfavorable for a battle which Hannibal urged, the latter asked: *ain tu . . . vitulinæ carunculae quam imperatori veteri magis credere?* Valerius' comment shows that these words are a mere rhetorical rejoinder, suggesting to the king that God helps those who help themselves, and that they are in no sense an indication of a lack of religious feeling.

Hannibal cannot be convicted of sacrilege in the sense of wanton profanation. Silius Italicus VI, 641-716 is pure imagination, relating (what is not elsewhere referred to) that Hannibal burned a temple of Litemum because on its entrance he saw depicted the story of the First Punic War. The desecration at Saguntum referred to in rhetorical fashion by Statius, *Silv.* IV, 6, 82-84, is offset by Pliny, *N. H.* XVI, 79, 3: *Sagunti templum Dianæ — cui pepercit religione inductus Hannibal.* Livy indeed speaks (xxvi, 11, 9) of the plundering of gold and silver from a temple of Feronia, but this occurred when Hannibal was operating in territory around Rome and when he was in great need. Even so, Livy relates, although perhaps in irony, that the soldiers from a sense of religious obligation left in the temple numerous pieces of uncoined bronze. Cicero (*De Div.* I, 24, 28) quotes the annalist Fabius Pictor as saying that Hannibal was about to remove a gold pillar, which may in fact have been a votive offering having no significance as an object of worship, from the celebrated temple of Juno Lacinia, but renounced his intention on being warned in a dream by Juno that such desecration would cost him the loss of his other eye. The point of the story is, to be sure, that he

refrained from sacrilege not because of religious veneration, but from fear of losing another eye. But the point to be noted here is that Hannibal did not pilfer the shrine; it remained inviolate until the time of his departure from Italy and was profaned neither by Pyrrhus nor Hannibal (Livy xxx, 20, 6; xlii, 3, 6), although Hannibal for a long time made his headquarters near it. On the other hand, Hannibal held the great temple in such reverence that he set up in it an altar with a bronze tablet inscription giving the record of his achievements (Polybius iii, 33, 18; Livy xxviii, 46, 16).

The Romans talked of Punic faith and perfidy, but with ill grace indeed, coming as it did from a nation guilty of some of the most detestable acts of injustice in history — rude violation of faith at Messana, treacherous seizure of Sardinia and Corsica, despicable deceit in disarming Carthage prior to the last war, and an infamous record of warfare and diplomacy in Spain. They dwelt in particular on the bad faith of Hannibal until they probably came to believe that mere mention of the term carried its own proof. There is no doubt that the real basis of the charge was Hannibal's inventive craftiness, his mastery of the art of stratagem. The sources reveal no instances showing certainly that Hannibal was guilty of any act of treachery, that he broke a pledged word or violated a sworn promise, or that he voluntarily abandoned a people or town which he promised to support. Many instances of alleged or implied deceit and treachery cannot be taken seriously, such as concealment of forces, surprise attacks, ruses of various character, operations which often, on the basis of Livy's account, reveal the rashness and stupidity of the Roman leaders rather than the enemy's treachery. Livy does say (xxi, 6, 12) that after Trasumene Hannibal violated the promise of release given to a body of cavalry who surrendered to Maharbal. But Hannibal took the position (Polybius iii, 85, 2) that his officer Maharbal had no authority to make terms without consulting him, the chief in command, a decision that should have seemed sound to the Romans, who more than once refused to ratify terms accepted by their generals, on the ground that they had exceeded their powers.

The betrayal of Tarentum to Hannibal (Livy xxv, 9, 9; Polybius viii, 26 f.; Appian, *Han. War* vi, 32) involves the ruse of hunting, originated and executed by the Tarentines as a means of delivering up the citadel; but Hannibal deserves no censure of treachery, unless it be for coöperation in the plan proposed for throwing an important city into his power. The people of Tarentum charged the Romans with various acts of oppression, and of their own volition instigated the conspiracy in retaliation for the severe punishment inflicted upon Tarentine hostages who had attempted to escape from Rome. On the recovery of Tarentum by the Romans Hannibal is made to say (Livy xxvii, 16, 10): *eadem qua ceperamus arte Tarentum amisimus*. But Hannibal's action was certainly less reprehensible than that of Fabius, who effected a betrayal of the garrison back to the Romans *astu magis quam virtute* (Livy xxvii, 20, 9) through a young man in his army, with whose sister the Carthaginian commander was in love (Plutarch, *Fab. Max.* xxi; Livy xxvii, 15, 9-12).

Hannibal in attacking Saguntum is accused of having violated the treaty of alliance which Rome had with that city. As between Carthage and Rome in the Saguntum matter it was "a good cat and a good rat." The illegal seizure of Sardinia brought Carthage into Spain, where her expansion toward Rome was checked by the Ebro treaty of the year 226 B. C. This done, Rome's subsequent treaty with Saguntum (far south of the Ebro) was certainly a treacherous violation of the spirit of the earlier treaty. Hannibal, whose mental powers had been feeble indeed had he not clearly recognized this fact, brushed aside *prima facie* rights on the one hand, invented pretexts on the other, and took Saguntum. His reasons for doing so, advantage and necessity, were just about the same as were Rome's for making an alliance there; but he outwitted the Romans in forcing them to fight in Italy, not in Spain as they hoped by the Saguntum alliance.

Breach of faith is charged against Hannibal in dealing with his southern Italian allies; that, realizing he must soon leave them, he loaded them with taxes, removed the people from their homes, and confiscated their property. This harsh treatment may have

been meted out to some of the wavering or disloyal communities, whose inhabitants he feared would massacre his garrisons; but the general indictment no doubt grew out of the fact that Hannibal could not protect so many widely separated places and was therefore obliged to abandon some and withdraw his garrisons from others. Such movements, usually accompanied by robberies and violence on the part of soldiers, may easily bring upon a general unmerited blame and the accusation of bad faith and cruelty.

The chief and most venomous accusation against Hannibal is cruelty. We may fairly concede that he was sometimes cruel, for war even to this day is inhuman. It was peculiarly so in Hannibal's time. He was less cruel, however, than his times — was in fact, more humane than were Roman generals, with whom cruelty was almost habitual. His knightly conduct in according burial rites where possible to fallen foes, Flaminius, Aemilius Paulus, Sempronius Gracchus, and Marcus Marcellus, contrasts favorably with the brutish barbarity of Claudius Nero toward Hasdrubal (Livy xxvii, 51, 11). With such savagery did Claudius repay his great antagonist Hannibal, "who scorned to war with the dead." Hannibal's kindness toward his enemies impressed Plutarch and is noted with emphasis by Polybius, Livy, and other writers. Many of the charges of cruelty against Hannibal are calumnies pure and simple, *e. g.* that the unransomed captives of Cannae were cast into streams, and that bridges were thus made of their bodies for the army to pass over; that prisoners were variously tormented and forced to fight, friends and near relatives against each other; that his soldiers were taught to eat human flesh; that 5,000 prisoners were put to death, to escape Fabius at a mountain pass; that the inhabitants of Nuceria were suffocated after surrendering; that senators at Acerrae were thrown into wells; that the inhabitants of Casilinum were slain after their ransom was paid. For the remainder of the charges there is no more ground than that at certain crises he acted in accord with the spirit of ancient warfare.⁵ Had he been a monster of cruelty and perfidy, friend and

⁵ Cf. Mommsen, *History of Rome*: New York, Scribner's (1911), II, 244: "Laying aside the wretched inventions which furnish their own refutation

foe alike would have turned away from him in utter abhorrence. Polybius (ix, 22-26) effectively defends Hannibal in general terms by ascribing much to his situation in Italy and to the compulsion of circumstances. He says (ix, 24, 8) that the Romans, to maintain their accusation of cruelty against Hannibal, attributed to him the acts of one Hannibal Monomachus, as they did also such of his own acts as were the result of compulsion. All told, Polybius mentions but two acts of Hannibal which he could call cruel: ix, 26, 7, the removal to other cities of civil populations in southern Italy, and iii, 86, 11, the killing of a large number of civilians on a plundering expedition through Umbria and Picenum after the battle of Trasumene. There is of course exaggeration in the tradition of the revelry of Hannibal's troops, the bathing of horses in old wine, etc.; but it is entirely possible that after a year's strenuous fighting his soldiers could not be restrained from retaliating upon innocent citizens the sufferings of their forefathers in the First Punic War. Livy says not a word about this alleged cruelty. Despite Polybius' authority it is difficult to believe that Hannibal could have deliberately ordered the murder of non-combatants, when imprisonment was the greatest severity shown by him toward prisoners of war. This charge of cruelty is probably pure fiction or a gross exaggeration, occasioned by individual acts of barbarity, such as have been known to occur even in the best disciplined armies.

In the entire ten books of Livy having to do with Hannibal there are only two indefensible cases of alleged cruelty. In xxix, 45, 12-14 (also Appian, *Han. War* v, 31) we are told that Hannibal burned alive the wife and children of one Dasius Altinius of Arpi, after seizing his property (the charge of avarice is thus included). Livy says this man, twice a deserter, was a low and despicable enemy, and was trying to betray Arpi back to the Romans. The story seems suspicious and like a prideful effort to contrast the Roman commanders' moderate treatment of a contemptible deserter with that of Hannibal. Livy's second charge of cruelty (xxx, 20, 6) is that many natives of Italy who refused . . . nothing occurs in the accounts regarding him which may not be justified under the circumstances, and according to the international law, of the times."

to follow Hannibal to Africa and had taken refuge at the shrine of Juno Lacinia, were inhumanely massacred in the very temple. According to Appian (*Han. War* vii, 59) Hannibal murdered these men that they might never be of service to the enemy. Whatever their number, this is doubtless the correct explanation and one that removes the reproach of aimless savagery. The same view is held by Mommsen, (*op. cit.* ii, 358), who apparently passes over the matter as one of absurd exaggeration.⁶ Although the right of destroying property and persons that might harm an army or benefit the enemy was liberally interpreted in ancient warfare, such gratuitous cruelty is contradicted by practically everything we know of Hannibal's character. It is also inconsistent with his action in allowing to return to their homes thousands of Spaniards who were unwilling to cross the Pyrenees with him. The tradition is generally discredited as an impossible happening. At least the numbers involved have no basis. Absurd exaggeration is evident. Diodorus xxvii, 18, says there was a slaughter of 20,000 men (that number in the temple?) and 3,000 horses (by what means?); Appian, *loc. cit.*, mentions the killing of 4,000 horses and a large number of pack animals. Equally senseless is his statement (*Pun. Wars* vi, 33) that Hannibal slew with darts in Africa 4,000 horsemen who came to him as deserters. Had Hannibal been guilty of the inhuman savagery which these authors relate, he would certainly have been punished by Carthage, and the Romans would have been able to use against him his own steel-hardened countrymen.

⁶ Another possible explanation is given by Ihne, *History of Rome*: London, Longmans, Green and Co. (1871), ii, 444: "If Italian soldiers met their death in the sanctuary of Juno, it was much more likely that they preferred to die a voluntary death rather than allow themselves to be tortured by the Romans in punishment of their rebellion."

VALERIUS MAXIMUS AS AN AUTHOR IN THE HIGH-SCHOOL COURSE

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The *Report of the Classical Investigation* lists Valerius Maximus among the authors recommended for the fourth semester of high-school Latin. Yet for obvious reasons, in spite of the committee's recommendations, Valerius Maximus is known only by name, if at all, to the majority of our classical teachers. He is very briefly discussed, or entirely omitted, in most of our histories of Latin literature¹ on account of his heavy, involved, and rhetorical style and his uncritical method. Hence, his appearance in this article will furnish, at any rate, an element of novelty.

Moreover, his work, *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri Novem*, written probably during the reign of Tiberius, is such a mirror of the life and character of the Romans and their contemporaries that it does help in the attainment of one of the "ultimate objectives" recommended in the Classical Investigation. This fact was very deeply impressed upon the mind of the writer of this paper several years ago during an investigation of the sources used by our author.

Attention has been called to the fact that Valerius is usually regarded as somewhat uncritical in his use of historical material. However, it should be remembered that many standard sources were employed, chief of which were probably Livy and the lost *Epitome* of Livy, for events in Roman history of the Republic.

¹ This paper was written several weeks before the writer became acquainted with J. Wight Duff's *A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age*: New York, Charles Scribner's Sons (1927). This valuable work contains (65-81) an excellent account of Valerius.

Comparison with extant portions of Livy reveals the fact that Valerius usually followed the great historian very faithfully in respect to facts and often even in phraseology. This significant characteristic makes his work an important factor in the reconstruction of periods of history covered in the lost books of Livy.

An attempt was made by Alfred Klotz in *Hermes* XLIV (1909), 198-214 and XLVIII (1913), 542-57, to prove that Valerius had used neither Livy nor the lost *Epitome* of Livy but a lost book of *Exempla* by Hyginus, a freedman of Augustus. But the writer of the present paper, after a careful examination of many passages from Valerius in 1916, was convinced that the contention of Klotz was incorrect. The entire question as to the sources used by Valerius was thus reopened.

Nevertheless, there is absolutely no doubt that his work is, as already stated, a valuable, interesting, and comparatively accurate panorama of Roman life and thought. His classification of historical examples under various headings makes his book almost as convenient a work of reference for classical teachers today as it was for the readers and writers and students in the rhetorical schools of ancient Rome. His popularity is attested by the fact that an epitome was made by Julius Paris (*ca.* A. D. 400) and another by Januarius Nepotianus (before A. D. 600). Both *Epitomes* are extant today and are incorporated in the Halm and the Kempf editions of Valerius Maximus, published in 1865 and 1888, respectively, by B. G. Teubner in Leipzig. Both are excellent editions.

The author dedicates his work with extravagant flattery to his emperor, probably Tiberius. In the opening sentence of this dedication he states that he has decided to select and arrange from illustrious writers such words and deeds of Rome and of foreign nations as are worthy of mention, because these matters are so widely scattered in other writers that they are not easily found. Then, a few lines later, comes the invocation to the emperor, whose divinity he associates with that of Augustus and Julius Caesar.

This reference to imperial divinity he considers a fitting in-

troductio to his first topic (*De Religione*), to which he devotes his first group of examples. This group is the first of the ninety-two chapters into which the nine books are divided. To each chapter a title is given by Valerius himself. Each chapter is illustrated by from five to twenty-five Roman examples and, with few exceptions, by a number of foreign examples — all, as a rule, consistently illustrative of the main topic of the chapter. However, this unity is not always found in the selection and arrangement of the chapters themselves in the respective books; nor was such unity always possible.

Book I contains, besides the chapter entitled *De Religione*, seven others on various aspects of religious life. In Book II there are ten chapters dealing with different kinds of political and military institutions. The remaining seven books illustrate many traits of character, tested in almost every possible phase of private and public life.

The titles of two chapters selected from each of the nine books may give a faint idea of the range of the work.

Book I, *De Religione* and *De Prodigiiis*.

Book II, *De Disciplina Militari* and *De Censoria Nota*.

Book III, *De Fortitudine* and *De Constantia*.

Book IV, *De Paupertate* and *De Amicitia*.

Book V, *De Humanitate et Clementia* and *De Severitate Patrum in Liberos*.

Book VI, *De Pudicitia* and *De Iustitia*.

Book VII, *Sapienter Dicta et Facta* and *De Necessitate*.

Book VIII, *De Testibus* and *De Studio et Industria*.

Book IX, *De Luxuria et Libidine* and *De Crudelitate*.

It would be interesting and illuminating to include in this article at least one example from each of the chapters selected above from the nine books. But lack of space permits the translation of only a few examples.

BOOK I, CHAPTER 1, EXAMPLE 3 (*De Religione*)

"Praiseworthy is the obedience shown to religion on the part of the twelve fasces [*i. e.* in the immediately preceding example

of the one consul, Postumius Albinus]; but more praiseworthy is that of the twenty-four fasces. For, after letters had been sent by Tiberius Gracchus from his province to the college of augurs, in which letters he made it clear that, when he was reading the books pertaining to the sacrifices of the people, he noticed that there had been an error in the selection of the place for taking the auspices at the consular election which he himself had conducted, and, after this matter had been reported to the senate, at the command of that body Caius Figulus and Scipio Nasica returned to Rome from Gaul and Corsica, respectively, and resigned from the consulship."

I, 6, 11 (*De Prodigis*)

"M. Crassus, who was connected with one of the most serious disasters of the Roman state, does not permit us at this point to keep our silence concerning him, for he had been struck by many most obvious blows of portents before so great a downfall. He was about to lead his army from Carrhae against the Parthians. A black military cloak was given to him, although a white or purple one is usually given to those going forth to battle. Sadly and silently the soldiers assembled at the general's quarters, though according to ancient custom they ought to have rushed forward with an eager shout. The one of the eagles could scarcely be pulled up from the ground by the first centurion; the other eagle, after it had been drawn out with the greatest difficulty, turned itself in the opposite direction to the one in which it was being carried. Great were these prodigies, but much greater were those disasters, the destruction of so many most beautiful legions, so many standards intercepted by the hands of enemies, so great a glory of Roman soldiery trodden upon by the cavalry of barbarians, the eyes of the father bespattered with the blood of his gifted son, the body of the commander exposed to birds and beasts among the promiscuous heaps of corpses. I wish, indeed, <the gods had dealt> more gently, but I say what it is true to relate. So heated do the warnings of the gods become, when scorned; thus are human plans punished, when they set themselves above heavenly counsels."

(The foregoing translation, which is neither literal nor free, gives some idea of the metaphors, abstract terms, modifying phrases and clauses, and superlatives which occur in many of the longer examples. The teacher of Caesar will inevitably compare this style with that of Caesar in regard to its suitability for use in the fourth semester.)

II, 7, 4 (*De Disciplina Militari*)

"M. Cotta, the consul, compelled his son P. Aurelius Pecuniola, whom he had placed in charge of the siege at the Liparae Islands, when he himself was about to cross over to Messana to seek the auspices again, first to be beaten with rods and then to perform his military service among the foot-soldiers, because through his error the *agger* had been set on fire and the camp had almost been captured."

III, 2, 14 (*De Fortitudine*)

"Also to your illustrious death, O Cato, Utica is a monument, where more glory than blood dripped from your brave wounds; if, indeed, by falling upon your sword without flinching, you gave mankind a great illustration of how much better it is for upright men to have honor without life than life without honor."

The foregoing examples have been selected for translation mainly because of the brevity required in this paper. Many of the other examples in the work are much longer and more complicated. Many are more interesting and dramatic. Furthermore, the longer the example, the longer and more involved, as a rule, are the author's moral reflections on the lesson taught by the example. The majority of the stories are difficult to render in good English — in fact, some seem to defy translation. At any rate, very few sentences permit a so-called literal translation that could be considered even passable English. Adjectives (often in the superlative), phrases, participles, and clauses are piled up in long sentences, in comparison with which the long periods in Cicero often pale into insignificance. Metaphors, frequently mixed, abound on every page, in practically every example. This massing of metaphors is an important factor in the difficulty of

translation into English. A frequent characteristic is a long series of balanced abstract or verbal nouns with complicated and often seemingly needless modifiers. At times this series is broken by the insertion of a concrete noun with a modifying passive participle, a combination like the familiar *ab urbe condita*. The translations given in this paper are far from literal, though an effort was made to preserve as much of the style of Valerius as possible without doing altogether too much violence to the English.

The opening lines of the first selection translated in this paper give an illustration of our author's effort to maintain unity between a number of examples. In fact, every one of the twenty-one examples in the first chapter of Book I leads the thought back to the preceding example by some sort of introductory connection, ranging in length from one word to several lines. No two of these connections are exactly alike. This conscious attempt to combine unity of thought with variety of expression characterizes his whole work. Though such a style seems artificial, nevertheless it has a certain degree of merit. Without these connections, the attention of the reader would have been hopelessly distracted. On the other hand, the variety of expression relieves to some extent the monotony which is unavoidably involved in the recital of a long list of examples.

Many writers of the history of Roman literature, in estimating the literary value of this work, seem to overlook the fact that the author, as he himself points out in his opening lines, intends it for ready and convenient reference rather than as an effort to surpass former writers of history in accuracy or eloquence. It was apparently not planned as a literary work for continuous reading. That it must have served a useful purpose is indicated by its popularity in Roman and mediaeval times and by the fact that two epitomes were made of it. Nevertheless, in spite of his opening lines, he does make such an effort to give impressiveness and attractiveness to his numerous historical episodes that the style often becomes heavy, involved, and unduly rhetorical.

The question of the suitability of this work for use in the fourth semester of secondary Latin requires a consideration of

both its style and its historical material. The subject-matter itself, as already stated, is interesting and stimulating. Each of the ninety chapters does drive home an impression of a distinct characteristic of the Romans (as well as of foreigners) by the cumulative effect of a series of examples. For instance, anyone who has translated the seventy-five examples in Book I, dealing with all phases of Roman religion and superstition, has gained at first hand a deeper and more lasting impression of the hold which this religious system had on the affairs of state and the minds of the masses than could be obtained from various English commentaries on the subject.

However, before an author characterized by such stylistic difficulties can be read successfully as a substitute for Caesar in the fourth semester, there is need of properly simplified editions of selections, with Vocabulary and with Notes containing not only historical and grammatical explanations but also references to the Latin grammars published in this country. Some years ago three editions of selections from Valerius were known by title to the writer but they are no longer mentioned in the publishers' catalogues.² The Teubner editions by Halm and by Kempf are, of course, out of question for high-school use.

A suitable, simplified edition might prove an interesting and profitable substitute for some portion of Caesar to those teachers who desire such a change. It would certainly make a valuable contribution toward the attainment of the historical-cultural objective. Meantime, the teacher of Latin would find a study of the complete editions of the *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium Libri Novem* both attractive and illuminating.

² Since this paper was written, Ward's edition (Macmillan) has again been listed. However, this edition seems too advanced and without sufficient grammatical guidance for students in the fourth semester.

THE CHILDHOOD OF THE GODS

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The subject limits itself at once, for many of the Olympians had no childhood. The phenomenon of maturity at birth as evidenced by Athene and Aphrodite is not calculated to encourage the biographer of youth. With Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Poseidon, and Hades, the matter is not far different. Would it be too lofty a leap of the imagination to represent, as one of the causes of war in the grim conflict of these gods with the Titans, the fact that they had been deprived of the immemorial right to be young by the inconsiderate appetite of their father? Even Zeus, who alone of the six children of Cronus and Rhea had the opportunities of normal development, grew up in hiding, amid the clang of Curetan bronze, with foreign nursemaids, and only the distant supervision of his mother.

I can find slight evidence that he was a normal child. Such learned mythographers as Callimachus and Apollodorus are preoccupied chiefly with his diet—whether goats' milk or honey from the bees of Melisseus—or with his housing—the Dictaeon or Idaean cave, or the golden cradle slung from a tree, midway between heaven and earth. In providing the child with playthings these sober authorities are not at all concerned. Hesiod, not even interested in problems of food and sunshine, passes over his early years with a sentence. The artists are not much better. Coins depicting the infancy of the divine child show him sitting stiffly upright on a large throne, while the guardian Curetes go through their military drill like automata on either side. One terracotta relief shows a tiny thunderbolt by the baby, but it is not even placed where he can see it; and we gravely suspect that the artist put it there, not to amuse the child, but to reassure us that

his drawing really represents Zeus. We would be forced to conclude that the young Olympian grew up without toys, those indispensable means of self-expression, and so passed a dreary and unimaginative childhood, were it not for Apollonius, who mentions a wonderful ball made for him by his nurse Adrasteia:

All of gold are its zones, and, round each, double seams run in a circle; but the stitches are hidden, and a dark blue spiral overlays them all. But if thou shouldst cast it with thy hands, lo, like a star, it sends a flaming track through the sky (*Arg.* III, 137-41, translated by R. C. Seaton).

With these words Aphrodite describes the ball in after years, when she offers it as a bribe to her naughty little son. Zeus must have kept his plaything well. Can we not imagine it, stored tenderly away by the careful Rhea in some spacious Olympian attic, after her son had turned from childish thoughts, for the day when her childrens' children would be playing about the halls?

Of the children of Zeus, three are important for this discussion: Apollo, Artemis, and Hermes. The bold and saucy Cupid, eternal child of the Olympians, who forced his way so impudently into Hellenistic art and letters, naturally lays claim, too, to an important place.

A common treatment of divine children in primitive mythology is to attribute to them the powers and faculties of adults. The child is not as a child an object of interest; the remarkable feats he performs when young are but a glorification of the mature god, a strikingly vivid way of emphasizing his divinity. In Norse mythology, Magni, son of Thor, when three days old, saves his father by thrusting off the giant's foot which would have crushed him; and Vali the second day after his birth, sets out to avenge the death of Balder. Krishna, the Hindu child, subdues monsters and demons, pulls down enormous trees, overturns a wagon loaded with milk pails, and drags it away. So in the *Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo*, the young child, as soon as he has tasted nectar and ambrosia, breaks his swaddling bands and, to the amazement of the attending goddesses, begins to walk upon the "wide-wayed earth" and to claim at once his divine prerogatives: "The lyre and the bow shall be dear to me, and I shall declare to men the

unfailing will of Zeus." As if in acknowledgement of this miracle, all Delos blossoms in gold "as does a mountain-top with woodland flowers" (131-39, translated by H. G. Evelyn-White).

Though in the *Pythian Hymn to Apollo* no mention is made of the age of the god when he journeys to Delphi to claim the oracle, the inference is that he is fully grown. In other sources, however, he is still a precocious child, slaying the Python when but four days old with arrows given by Hephaestus. Clearchus the Solensian, in an attempt to explain the cry "Io Paeon" so often associated with the worship of the god, tells the story in the greatest detail: how Latona, with her children in her arms, came without suspicion of danger to a cave called the cave of the Python, and then, in great terror of the monster, cried to her son "Shoot, boy!" ("Ἴε, παῖ"), and the child obeyed (Athen. xv, 701 E).

Callimachus in the *Hymn to Apollo*, making some slight concession to probability, gives the god the benefit of four years of childhood before he represents him "framing his first foundations in fair Ortygia." On this occasion, Artemis, apparently the same ingenuous age, aids her brother by bringing him for his altar the heads of Cynthian goats which she has slain. There are other indications that she did not lag behind her brother in mental or physical development, for according to Apollodorus, straightway after her own birth, she had assisted as midwife at the birth of Apollo.

But the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* is the most conspicuous instance of this treatment of the child as a "diminished adult." Hermes, like his brother Apollo, walks and talks on the day of his birth; finds the tortoise waddling before the cave in Mt. Cyllene later on this same day, and makes from it the lyre; journeys to Pieria and drives off fifty of the herd of Apollo, cunningly disguising their tracks; drives the animals to Pylos, slays two, and returns to his cave and cradle, slipping through the keyhole "like autumn mist." The *Hymn* differs, however, from the other examples we have seen, in that humor enters frankly into the conception of the god. Hermes shows his mischievous propensities

from the first: roundly he denies his guilt to the outraged Apollo — how can he, not a day old, know what cattle are? — slyly he tucks his newly invented lyre under his arm, to produce it at the psychological moment when the anger of the thwarted god is at its height. When finally cornered, enjoying his own defeat none the less, with his swaddling clothes over his arm, he struts along before his haughty brother to the arbitrament of Zeus.

Andrew Lang, in commenting on this *Hymn*, defines its humor as the humor of the savage who delights in the story of an exceedingly small creature's feats of strength. The humor of "Brer Rabbit" lies, he thinks, in just this striking contrast. Yet the feats of the precocious children of Latona do not excite laughter; there is, instead, a sort of solemn formalism about them which almost borders on the mystic. They take themselves in all seriousness, and the effect of their prodigious deeds on the bystanders is one of amazement, almost of awe. But about the character of Hermes, whether child or adult, in Greek and Latin literature, an element of humor always plays; and though sharp and unexpected contrast often is one of the elements of the comic, it is, I think, more in the characterization of the god, than in the mere fact of his precocity, that the humor of the *Hymn* lies. He is little concerned with the building of sacred altars, the dutiful revelation of the will of Zeus, the heroic extinction of harmful monsters; if he is ambitious, it is for purely personal ends, though his feats seldom have other motive than good-natured playfulness and delight in the discomfiture of others. That is why he is so often used as an effective foil for Apollo, who of all the Greek gods, not even excepting Zeus, is most conscious of his own dignity.

Yet, however attractive this *enfant terrible* of the gods seems to be, on closer analysis it will be seen that the poet's method of treatment does not differ so greatly from our earlier examples. His ambitions are not childish ambitions; his lies and subterfuges are too subtle to be childlike; notwithstanding his appeal, he is still the "diminished adult."

Though we can see in the *Homeric Hymns* examples of the primitive manner in portraying the gods, we cannot attribute the

unnaturalness of the presentation to lack of observation or knowledge of children, as is sometimes done in regard to fifth- and even fourth-century representations of children in Greek sculpture. There are plenty of convincing children in Homer, who quite certainly antedates the poet or poets of the *Hymns*: the tearful little maid of the *Iliad*, who pleads to be taken up and "snatches at her mother's gown and hinders her in her going"; the children playing by the sea and watching the waves wash out their castles; little Achilles, sitting on the knees of the good knight Phoenix to be fed, "sputtering the wine in his sorry helplessness"; and above all, Andromache's small son, frightened and shrinking back into his nurse's arms at sight of the waving crest of his father's helmet. If these were not enough, Danaë's tender lament would show that, in Simonides' time at least, babyhood could be treated naturally and sympathetically. Without doubt, the little Apollo, Artemis, and Hermes owe their failure to be real children to the fact that they are gods, though one must not imagine for them on this account the sufferings of countless little wistful Dauphins and princes of the blood royal of later days, restricted by the iron rigidities of court etiquette, especially when one remembers the uproarious laughter of the gods, when pert Hermes, his swaddling clothes over his arm, gives the wink to Zeus. The adult Olympians almost always succeed in being natural, however old-fashioned the children may seem.

The performance of adult tasks by child gods we may then consider an early method of treatment, and may regard similar treatment in such late writers as Apollodorus, Callimachus, and Lucian as a survival, or as conscious archaizing, to gain piquant or humorous effects. What are we to say, however, when Euripides, whose name is almost a synonym for realism, shows in one of the choruses of his *Iphigenia among the Taurians* the child Apollo travelling to Olympus, twining his baby hand around his father's throne, and boldly claiming his rights to the disputed oracle at Delphi? We receive a distinct shock, much more so than we do in reading the summaries of the mythographer Apollodorus, or the stilted hymns of the pedant Callimachus. Would it be too

bold to see in this unreal treatment of the god another sly instance of Euripidean unbelief? Or is this, too, but conscious archaizing?

In the Hellenistic age in art and literature the child comes into its own. The existence of numerous copies of Boethus' charming Boy with a Goose shows the popularity of child subjects in sculpture; and, in general, the early stiff treatment of divine children yields to the growing naturalism and realism in the treatment of the gods. Though Callimachus, as we have seen, deliberately harks back to the earlier style, he accedes, too, to the demands of his day; and in the *Hymn to Artemis* we find a fairly successful representation of a nine year old child. We see the little goddess teasingly climb on her father's knee and plead for hunting dogs, and playmates of her own age; the request is of course granted; later we witness the visit of the girls to the forges of the Cyclopes, where they shrink back in fright at the noise and at the sight of the huge, one-eyed monsters.

But Apollonius of Rhodes surpasses his master in the sympathetic rendering of child gods. We have already noticed his thoughtfulness in giving the young Zeus a plaything. His picture of Cupid and Ganymede in the third book of the *Argonautica* is unsurpassed, I think, in ancient literature, for light, sure touches in characterization. The goddesses Hera and Athene have come to Aphrodite's palace to secure Cupid's aid in inspiring Medea with love for Jason so that he may easily secure the Golden Fleece. Aphrodite is a little uncertain of her ability to persuade the boy: "He will obey you rather than me," she says to the two goddesses,

for unabashed as he is there will be some slight shame in his eyes before you; but he has no respect for me, but ever slights me in contentious mood. And overborne by his naughtiness, I purpose to break his ill-sounding arrows and his bow in his very sight. For in his anger he has threatened that, if I shall not keep my hands off him while he masters his temper, I shall have cause to blame myself thereafter.

She agrees to try, however, and finds her boy —

apart in the blooming orchard of Zeus, not alone but with him Ganymede, whom once Zeus had set to dwell among the immortal gods, being enamored of his beauty. And they were playing for golden dice, as like-minded boys are wont to do. And already greedy Eros was holding the

palm of his left hand quite full of them under his breast, standing upright; and on the bloom of his cheeks a sweet blush was glowing. But the other sat crouching hard by, silent and downcast, and he had two dice left which he threw one after the other, and was angered by the loud laughter of Eros. And lo, losing them straightway with the former, he went off empty-handed, helpless, and noticed not the approach of Cypris.

But Aphrodite had been too fearful in her anticipation of trouble. When she describes the wonderful ball of Zeus,

welcome were her words to the listening boy. And he threw down all his toys and, eagerly seizing her robe on this side and on that, clung to the goddess. And he implored her to bestow the gift at once; but she, facing him with kindly words, touched his cheeks, kissed him and drew him to her, and replied with a smile: "Be witness now, thy dear head and mine, that surely I will give thee the gift and deceive thee not, if thou wilt strike with thy shaft Aeetes' daughter (*Arg.* III, 92-153, translated by R. C. Seaton).

So the boy gathers up his dice, counts them all, throws them into his mother's lap, and taking up his bow and quiver sets out through the blooming orchard of Zeus. His loud laughter at Medea's amazement when the arrow has reached its mark is another swift touch in Apollonius' characterization.

Cupid is, indeed, the favorite child god in Hellenistic and later writers. Of all the Olympian children, he never grows up. Quite the contrary, he grows steadily younger and younger from the fifth century to Hellenistic and Roman times, alike in art and in literature, as is evidenced by the half-grown Eros of the Parthenon frieze and the awesome god invoked in the *Antigone*, as compared with the chubby little Loves on late sarcophagi and gems and in the poems of Moschus. It is this late Cupid and his little brothers that pass over to the cherubs of Christian art and the charming *putti* of the Renaissance.

He is the subject for some of the most charming of the *Anacreontea* and the epigrams of the Greek Anthology. The poets describe him asleep by spring or deep-shadowed wood, bow and torch carelessly thrown aside, his face like rosy apples, with tawny honey-bees clustering about the nectar of his mouth; playing dice on his mother's lap, or crowning her with garlands; yok-

ing grasshoppers to the plow; bestriding gamboling dolphins; treading out the vintage with purple stained Bacchus; or strutting along armed with the shield and helmet of Ares or with the lion skin and bow of Hercules. When he is shown doing impossible feats, such as yoking lions or oxen to the plow or breaking the thunderbolts of Zeus, he is still the child, rosy and curly-headed.

Or his little child tragedies may be represented with playful pathos: he is stung by a bee, worsted by his brother Anteros, brought to school with hanging head by his mother, lost in the cold and the wet, offered for auction, pursued as a runaway, or bound to a pillar with hands behind his back to the great glee of his erstwhile victims. These misfortunes serve but to emphasize his power and trickery. For his sting is sharper than the bees' or the arrows of Anteros; he refuses to learn from his shepherd teacher but forces him to learn love songs instead; he rewards the hospitality of the benefactor who rescues him from the storm by piercing him treacherously with his golden darts. A touch of the playful Hellenistic characterization is shown even in the sober *Aeneid*, where he mockingly imitates the gait of little Iulus and ingratiates himself with the unsuspecting Dido.

The change from stiffness to naturalism in representations of child gods which we have been tracing, may be paralleled in Christian art and literature in the treatment of the infant Christ. The solemn-eyed, pale Byzantine child, swathed in gold-encrusted wrappings, his head encircled with a halo, his small hand held up in formal benediction, gradually gains weight and chubbiness and childlike rosiness, loses his gold bands and his halo, and turns from his solemn blessing to fingering his mother's dress or toying with goldfinches or soft-colored fruits, until he finally slips from her lap and plays about her feet with the little John as naturally as any mortal child untroubled by divinity. The extreme of freedom in literary treatment may be illustrated in Francis Thompson's poem *Baby Jesus*, which he puts as a prayer in the mouth of a little child:

Little Jesus, wast thou shy
Once, and just so small as I?

And what did it feel like to be
Out of Heaven and just like me?

* * * *

Didst thou play in Heaven with all
The angels that were not too tall,
With stars for marbles? Did the things
Play "Can you see me?" through their wings?

This, though fanciful, is still reverently done. The Greek treatment is on the whole less reverent, but less extravagant. I doubt whether to the reasonable Greek imagination any small part of the ordered universe, much less the stars, would be diverted from its established use to provide amusement for the children of the gods. And yet the more reasonable Olympian children lack in some way the grace, the wistful tenderness of representations of the Christ Child. They lack, too, the mysticism with which the child Krishna is sometimes invested in Hindu philosophy, that philosophy which could see in sin, purity — in childhood, age — all things in all things. It may be illustrated in A. E.'s imitation of a fragment of the Vaishnava scriptures:

I paused beside the cabin door and saw the King of Kings at play,
Tumbled upon the grass I spied the little heavenly runaway,
The mother laughed upon the child made gay by its ecstatic morn. . . .
And yet the sages spake of It as the Ancient and Unborn.

To this profundity of the Hindu conception just as to the depths of Christian tenderness the Greek divine children never attain. But is not charming and natural childhood enough? Would they otherwise be true children of the Olympians?

THE ROMAN AND HIS RELIGION

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Scholars whose interest lies in the field of ancient religions have for the most part devoted their attention to the historical origins of rites and gods; few have attempted to give the reader an idea of the attitude of the leading men of the historical periods toward the religion of their times. The religious belief of the farmer, the poet, the statesman, the soldier, the satirist, the philosopher, the emperor is, to my thinking, a most important element in the religious life of the Roman people; for these men, consciously or unconsciously, moulded the religious opinion of the community.

We have only to consider our own day to realize this. Few Christians, for example, are interested in the historical origins of baptism, virgin birth, and the like; but they have a lively interest in what their leaders believe with regard to their religion. So, too, the Romans, save for a few antiquarians like Varro, gave little or no consideration to *why* they performed certain rites; but they thought much about religion, expressing themselves without reserve, often with bitter scoffing, occasionally with real devotion.

It was to determine the attitude of the Roman toward his religion that I began, a few years back, a survey of the whole field of Latin literature;¹ but finding that a complete reading of

¹ I have found it desirable in a number of instances to use the phraseology employed in my various articles already published on the individual men treated in this paper. These articles are as follows: "Cicero's Religious Unbelief," *Class. Wk.* xvii (1924), 101-03; "Cicero and the Religion of his Day," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxi (1925), 524-32; "The Religious Element in the *Satires* of Juvenal," *Class. Wk.* xx (1926), 19-21; "The Religious Element in the *Silvae* of Publius Papinius Statius," *Class. Wk.* xix (1926), 120-22; "The Religious Life on a Roman Farm as Reflected in the *De Agricultura* of Marcus

other than the major authors would consume more time than I had at my disposal, I decided to confine myself to those men who had won recognition in their own day. This paper, then, proposes to summarize the religious ideas of twenty-two outstanding Romans who may, for purposes of clarity, be classified as follows: farmers (Cato, Varro), a soldier (Velleius), statesmen (Caesar, Cicero), satirists (Lucilius, Juvenal, Persius), philosophers (Lucretius, Seneca), poets (Catullus, Horace, Vergil, Tibullus, Propertius, Martial, Statius), and emperors (Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero).

THE FARMER

When one thinks of farm life, the names Cato and Varro quite naturally occur to mind; and if one is disposed to include with them the poet-farmers, Vergil, Horace, and Tibullus may find a place on the list. Cato and Varro were farmers, but not in the usual modern sense; for in our country, save for the great western farms which are run by corporations, the farmer is still the hardest worker in his fields. In the days of Cato and Varro the farm was a self-supporting institution, and everything necessary for the farmer and his family—including in that term the farmer, his descendants, slaves, and dependents—was made on the farm. The actual work, however, was done by the slaves under the supervision of an overseer, who was often an ex-slave. Now a wise administrator of any group of people, whether it be a family or a nation, recognizes that those under him will be happier workers if they are devout. So Cato not only insisted that religion should have a large place on his farm, but he was himself a staunch believer in religion. He went directly to the books of the pontiffs and culled therefrom for the use of his family and of any Romans who were willing to read, the various rites which were, for the most part, untinged with Greek influences. All of these forms, described by Cato in his treatise on agriculture, were per Porcius Cato," *Class. Wk.* xxi (1927), 27-30; "The Religious Element in the Poetry of Horace with Special Reference to the Emperor Augustus," *ibid.*, 49-54; and "The Religion of the Caesars at the Beginning of the Christian Era," *Bib. Rev.* xiii (1928), 74-84.

formed by his family scrupulously and, there is every reason to believe, with implicit faith.

Varro was not only a believer in the gods, but he seems to have made an attempt to reconcile the Roman gods with Stoic philosophy. And there is some evidence that he reposed faith in astrologers. It is unfortunate that Varro's treatise on religious antiquities has not survived. However, in those of his works which have come down to us there is rich material for investigation. Varro, we recall, in his eightieth year turned over his farm to Fundania; and at the outset of his treatise on agriculture, addressed to Fundania, he commends the gods of Rome to him, appending a list of them for his guidance.

THE SOLDIER

Before an army took the field vows were made, auguries were taken, and the whole army was lustrated as a protection against the contagion of the enemy and against blood. Generals commonly made capital of the religious penchant of their soldiers. The appearance of some untoward phenomenon — eagles, an eclipse, a storm — was turned to good effect by the general. The standards of the army were endowed with religious significance; and the priests — the *fetials* and the *verbenarius* — regularly attended the army to battle.

I have taken Velleius as a type of the Roman soldier. The seasoned old general of Tiberius was a devout pagan. As the modern clergyman concludes his sermon with a prayer, so Velleius, at the end of his compendium of Roman history, invokes Jupiter Capitolinus, Mars Gradivus, and Vesta, representing the three most important elements of Roman life: the state, the military, and the home. Velleius everywhere writes about religious matters without suggestion of skepticism, and even believes that there is nothing strange in a god's favoring wrong action.

THE STATESMAN

Cicero belongs to a group of Romans who, while they believed that a Supreme Being existed, had no faith in the religion of the state; and they were willing to temporize with the traditional religion for political or social expediency. As augur Cicero

scanned the heavens for propitious signs from the gods and scrupulously observed the peckings of the holy chickens — proceedings which he ridicules repeatedly in the *De Divinatione*. Despite his religious disbelief Cicero always speaks of religion and its priests with respect. The state was the first love of Cicero; and if religion could serve the interests of the state, Cicero was willing to obey the laws of religion, in outward show at least. The foundation for all religious devotion is, according to Cicero, the home; and from this sanctuary no man can force another without committing sacrilege.

Julius Caesar plumed himself on his descent from the gods; he served the greatest of them all as a boy-priest; he held the office of chief pontiff. One would naturally, then, expect that Caesar would have some regard for the religion he professed to serve; but such seems to have been far from the truth: the office of chief pontiff he secured through bribery; he refused consistently to obey the dictates of religion; he went so far as to pilfer gold from Gallic temples, and even robbed the Capitol of three thousand pounds of gold, replacing it with an equal amount of gilded bronze.

There is some evidence that Caesar was not untainted with superstition: he had a horse whose cloven hoofs were like the feet of a man; and since soothsayers had prophesied that its master would rule the world, he raised it with great care and afterwards dedicated a statue of the horse in front of the temple of Venus Genetrix. Caesar seems also to have been a believer in dreams.

THE SATIRIST

From the fragments of Lucilius which remain, it is difficult indeed to construct with any degree of certainty his attitude toward religion. A number of fragments seem to indicate that he had regard for the gods; but in others he attacked in no soft terms the immorality attendant upon the festivals of these gods; and he seems to have had a cordial hatred for the religious forms of his day: they were mere inventions of Numa. He takes a passing fling at men who believe that the statues of the gods contain the souls of the gods.

Juvenal makes bitter attacks upon many phases of Roman life; and we naturally do not expect religion to escape his satirical shafts. He is an absolute disbeliever in the Roman state religion and a hater of its priests, its worshippers, and its forms; he ridicules the gods, the underworld, the prayers of believers. Not only the native Roman gods, but the oriental cults and the Jews, come in for a round attack by Juvenal; and he has a passing fling at astrologers and magicians. Despite his disbelief Juvenal recalls with a feeling of sadness the olden days when religion was pure and simple.

Persius, like Juvenal, was wholly out of sympathy with the state religion. He satirizes the prayers commonly made by the Romans; he holds up to ridicule the old woman who takes a child from the cradle and, in order to ward off the evil eye, anoints the brow and lips with saliva applied with the middle finger, who then prays for a great future for him. Persius' belief with regard to prayer seems to have been much like that of the modern worshipper: he held that man must fulfill his own prayer. He believed in some great force animating the universe and that man is helpless before that force: prayers to it are of no avail.

THE PHILOSOPHER

Lucretius attacks religion with a bitterness and passion matched only by that of a Nietzsche attacking the Christian doctrine "the weak shall inherit the earth." He scoffs at passers-by who have kissed the hands of the statues of the gods so often that they are worn down; he flings trenchant verses at those who crowd the temples on holy days, who pray to stone images and sprinkle the altars with blood.

Seneca, the tutor of the Emperor Nero, was a disbeliever. Like Lucretius and Juvenal, he pokes fun at the stories of the underworld and protests against the prayers offered to the gods, suggesting that man can manage his life without the aid of the gods and prayer. He blushes for those who ceremonially dress the hair of Juno and Minerva. We recall the gesture of Seneca on his death-bed, where he sprinkled his slaves with water, telling them that it was a libation to Jupiter the Liberator. But Seneca be-

lieved in a Supreme Being from whom man derives his life. It is philosophy which reveals the true nature of this Being, whose dwelling place is the universe. Religion, Seneca believes, should function merely as a hand-maid of philosophy.

THE POET

Catullus is not found among the authors quoted by W. Warde Fowler in his *Roman Festivals*,² and he is mentioned only once in the same writer's *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*.² The reason is not far to seek. Unlike Tibullus, Catullus had no personal interest in the particular deities and their worship, and he was probably as much a disbeliever as ever Cicero and Caesar were. However, that he believed that some supreme influence was at work in the world is patent to the reader. He usually addresses the gods in general. There were occasions, at least, when Catullus bowed to the traditional religion. The yacht (or its replica) which had brought him from Bithynia he offered up to Castor and Pollux. Again, Catullus visited the grave of his brother who had died in the Troad without the traditional burial rites, and Catullus performed there the last offices of the Roman religion.

Horace was admittedly a skeptic. There is more than playfulness in the words which he impatiently hurls at Aristius Fuscus when the latter refuses to rescue him from the bore because it is the thirtieth sabbath: "I have no scruples of religion (*religio*)."² He calls himself "a sparing and infrequent worshipper of the gods." Horace's disbelief, however, did not prevent his being in sympathy with the rites of the country-folk and joining in their religious festivals, for these were attended with practices, especially eating and drinking, which were quite after his heart. Many of the religious odes are closely connected with Augustus personally and with the religious revival he sought to bring about. For instance it was at the request of Augustus that Horace composed the *Carmen Saeculare* which was sung on the third day of the religious revival of 17 B.C.

Vergil has been called a religious poet; and indeed, if we under-

² London, Macmillan and Co. (1908 and 1911, respectively).

stand the term "religious" in the modern sense he was so. I have recently traversed the works of Vergil in an attempt to determine his attitude toward the Roman religion; and while I have found many references to Roman religious life sympathetically treated, especially in the *Georgics*, the *Eclogues*, and in the last six books of the *Aeneid*, the conclusion that Vergil had faith in the traditional religion is an inference not warranted by the facts. Indeed, I have found statements which point to his disbelief in the gods, especially where he abandons his objectivity of treatment and speaks for himself.

Tibullus was a poet, and as such his attitude toward the gods is colored by fancy. However, though he was a city-bred man, he was also a farmer who knew the ritual of the country festival at first hand. He was reverent toward the gods of his country, often bowing the knee at the sacred stock in the field or adorning with blossoms the stone at the crossways; and he regularly offered the first fruits of his farm to the gods of the farmer.

We may well believe that the sentiments which Propertius causes the dead Cornelia to address to her husband concerning death and the gods are Propertius' own. "Prayers move the gods above," he writes. Propertius from the time of early youth faithfully performed the rites of religion, and in later years he became interested in religion as an antiquarian.

There is an epigram ascribed to Martial which represents his rising at sun-up to worship the gods. We should like to believe that he did so. However, we know that Martial built crude altars to Jupiter and to Silvanus on his farm and that he frequently sacrificed lambs and kids. Once, during an illness, he drank the waters of a spring at the house of a friend, vowing a pig to the nymph of the water if he should recover. On regaining health he fulfilled his vow and wrote an epigram commemorating the event.

Some writers have thought that Statius was converted to Christianity. Whether this be true or not, at the time he wrote the *Silvae* Statius was a believer in the Roman gods. He makes a definite statement of his belief in their existence and frequently offers vows for the recovery of friends from illness. Occasionally,

Statius seems to have fallen into a skeptical mood from which, however, he quickly emerges.

THE EMPERORS

From the Roman viewpoint, Augustus was intensely religious: he was scrupulous in performing the rites of the state religion, especially those which had the authority of antiquity; he had regard for such foreign religions as were time-honored and firmly established. His attempts to revive old religious forms and priest-hoods, to repair the decaying temples, to put new wine into the old bottles of religion, are a matter of general knowledge. He was superstitious to a degree almost unbelievable in a man of his culture: he feared thunder and lightning; he had faith in astrologers and in the prophetic significance of dreams. That a man who was as superstitious as Augustus seems to have been should also believe in the traditional religion of the Romans seems a natural inference; but that much of his religious activity was based on the principle that a religious people is easier to govern than a skeptical people goes without saying.

Tiberius was not only negligent of the gods but even went so far as to execute his victims on holy days. On the other hand, we have record of many religious acts of Tiberius which were, of course, performed merely for political effect. That Tiberius consulted astrologers and believed in prodigies and omens we have abundant evidence. Though addicted to astrology, he nevertheless banished astrologers from the city. On the approach of a thunderstorm he was wont to wear a laurel chaplet because, as he thought, laurel was lightning proof. Portents and dreams often affected his actions.

Caligula was as mad in religious matters as he was in other ways. He often appeared before the people attired in the regalia of divinity, with a brilliant beard of gold, holding in his hand the trident of Neptune, the thunderbolt of Jupiter, or the *caduceus* of Mercury, or dressed as Venus. Examples of like madness could be repeated *ad nauseam*.

When Claudius became emperor he revived old religious usages and inaugurated new ones. But it would seem that he was more

interested in the roast dinners of the priests than in their religious observances. We have much evidence that Claudius attended to his religious duties, but it is highly probable that he was a disbeliever in the gods of Rome and that he was not so superstitious with regard to omens and prodigies as the evidence would lead us to believe. He may have taken cognizance of them merely for personal or political reasons, at the instance of his wife or freedmen. At least Suetonius intimates as much.

While Nero believed in astrology, omens, and prodigies, he had no respect for nor faith in the traditional religion. He despised all divinities except *Dea Syria*, and he even came to loathe her to such an extent *ut urina contaminaret*. The religious object closest to the heart of Nero was a small image of a girl which had been given to him by a plebeian and which was calculated to protect the emperor against plots. When it was to his advantage Nero performed religious rites of home and state. Like his predecessors to the throne Nero believed in the prophesies of astrologers.

In this paper we have given a *précis* of the religious belief of twenty-two Romans who, because of some preëminence, were in a position to influence the Roman people either for or against the Roman state religion. Just five of these were out-and-out believers: the two farmers (Cato and Varro), the general (Velleius), and two of the poets (Tibullus and Statius) with the possible addition of Martial and Propertius. Eight were virulent disbelievers: two of the satirists (Juvenal and Persius), both of the philosophers (Lucretius and Seneca), the emperors (Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero, together with Julius Caesar). The other Romans (Horace, Vergil, Catullus, together with Cicero and probably also the Emperor Augustus), while believing that some Supreme Being animated the universe, were skeptical with regard to the Roman gods, but followed in outward show the traditional forms, either for expediency or for sentimental reasons as in the case of Catullus. Because of insufficient evidence we cannot say whether Lucilius was a believer or not; and Caligula was a madman.

Generalizing from so few men is a dangerous business; and yet I venture to say that the average Roman farmer, like Cato and

Varro and Tibullus, was a believer in the traditional religion. Farmers generally are religious, and it is generally known that a religion will persist in the countryside long after it has passed away in the city. So, too, soldiers are religious. The evidence of the Roman historian confirms the fact that the Roman soldier was religious and superstitious to a greater degree perhaps than any other class of men. Persons of higher culture — statesmen, philosophers, poets — are likely to be skeptical; and these persons, because of their commanding influence in the community, are bound to influence the religious attitude of the people. Even Augustus, who was probably a disbeliever, was unable permanently to revive old forms; and at least one reason for this failure was the fact that he called skeptics to assist him in the task.

Book Reviews

MARK E. HUTCHINSON, *Hutchinson Latin Grammar Scale*:
Bloomington, Illinois, Public School Publishing Company
(1928). Forms A and B, each pp. 4. Sample of both forms,
\$0.15; package of 25 Scales, \$0.50.

The Hutchinson *Latin Grammar Scales* provide a very simple and effective device for indicating the accuracy of the pupil's analysis and recognition of grammar constructions. These tests consist of a four page leaflet, of which the first page presents a table for the computing of scores and for information concerning the pupil. The remaining three pages include 25 problems dealing with nouns, pronouns, and adjectives, and ten similar problems of verb usage. The multiple-choice type of test is used throughout, each problem consisting of an English sentence followed by four Latin translations, of which only one is correct. The pupil indicates which one in his judgment is the correct form, and a time limit of twenty-five minutes is set for the completion of the test.

Because of the simplicity and uniformity of the test, pupils will probably respond very quickly and satisfactorily. These twenty-five problems cover a surprising range of material comprising grammar fundamentals.

A combination scoring and record sheet supplies detailed information on the method of handling the test, scoring papers, and computing averages. This sheet, although quite complicated, facilitates comparison of results if Form A is followed by Form B after an interval of continued instruction in Latin, and aids in diagnosis of pupil weaknesses.

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AGNES CARR VAUGHN, *Greek Verb Blank*, a Scheme for a Rapid Mastery of Greek Verbs: New York, Noble and Noble (1928). Pp. 30. \$0.50.

In the advertisement of the publishers the author is quoted as describing her device as "an almost painless method of inserting Greek Verbs into youthful minds."

The mastery of the verb is one of the primary essentials in learning any language, and especially is this true of Greek. For the average student there is no way by which to secure familiarity with forms that is as good as that of writing them. Any device that makes written work interesting and aids in forming the habit of doing a certain amount of it regularly ought to be welcomed by teachers of Greek.

Miss Vaughn has invented a method that enables the student to learn verbs in their entirety by writing synopses of the various systems of voices, moods, and tenses. Each page of the *Verb Blank* is so arranged that a complete synopsis can be written in each tense of each mood and voice, and thus the student can see the whole scheme of the inflection of the verb on a single page.

Whenever a student can recognize the component parts of verb forms and knows their proper relationship, he can be said to have mastered the verb.

The *Verb Blank* furnishes a means of achieving this mastery in a rapid and systematic manner and at the same time aids in making the work more interesting. The scheme helps not only the student but the teacher in economizing time.

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BRAINERD P. SALMON, *Glimpses of Greece*: Washington, Hellenic Information Bureau (1928). Pp. 112.

With the exception of the brief stop at Phalerum for a hasty run up to Athens as included in the average Mediterranean cruise, tourist travel in Greece has long been limited to the more serious students of Greek art, history, and archaeology. The consistent efforts of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and

the Bureau of University Travel in assisting their students to form first-hand contacts with the remains of Greek civilization have been the chief factors which have gradually aroused a keener interest in Greece in the mind of the more general American traveller. These efforts have also reacted strongly upon conditions in Greece itself, and it has become possible now to travel throughout a large part of the country in comparative comfort and safety.

It is especially opportune that *Glimpses of Greece* is now available for the general tourist who may wish to find in brief compass an interpretation of the spirit of Greece and its people. The book contains a series of articles by Henry B. Dewing, E. A. Gardner, Charles P. Howland, A. J. B. Wace, and other specialists, covering a variety of topics on which the general tourist desires concise information. These topics include Travels in Greece, Archaeology, the Refugees, British and American Interests, Economic Improvement, the various industries of Carpet Weaving, Embroideries, Agriculture, and the raising of Tobacco, Currants and Honey, the Temples of Youth, the Festival at Delphi, special notices concerning Crete, Corfu, and Salonica, and Suggested Trips from Athens. The volume closes with sections on General Information, Passports, Customs Duties, How to Reach Greece, and a brief general Bibliography. It is copiously illustrated with well-chosen and attractive pictures.

In the first article, by Henry B. Dewing, one might take exception to the implication (p. 15) that all the Pythian games were held "on the Crisaeian plain." Of course the horse races were held there, but the stadium on the slope above the sacred precinct at Delphi argues for the holding of some of the contests nearer the oracle of the god. The statement (p. 17) that the remains of the prehistoric people "have already greatly illuminated the civilization which was at first called Mycenaean . . . , but has since been called Minoan," fails to take into account the now prevailing distinctions between the Minoan, Helladic, and Cycladic cultures. The spelling of Niki (p. 8) might also be questioned. The statement (p. 20) of Professor Gardner that "the Acropolis became a sacred precinct of the goddess Athena," must of course be taken

loosely in the most general sense in view of the worship of Poseidon, Erechthonius, and Brauronian Artemis, each of whom had a "sacred precinct" on the Acropolis. In his further statement that "the buildings which made it the glory of Greece . . . were mostly erected and beautified during the predominance of Pericles and under the direction of the sculptor Phidias," he has carelessly credited Phidias with the work of Ictinus, Mnesicles, and other architects. The editor of the volume ought not to refer (p. 45) to the Via Egnatia as a "Balkan extension of the Appian Way." In the description of Corfu (p. 75) we miss a reference to Canone, with its Homeric associations. Canone ought to be the first objective of all who go ashore at Corfu. The splendid service of the station restaurant at Corinth does not justify the statement (p. 81) that on a trip from Athens to Old Corinth, "lunch . . . must be brought from Athens."

Glimpses of Greece most admirably fulfils the purpose for which it was written. It would be hard to pack into 112 pages more of real interest and help for the general traveler to Greece.

ROLLIN HARVELLE TANNER

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

H. J. ROSE, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology*: New York, E. P. Dutton and Company (1928). Pp. 363. \$4.50.

Three classes of readers were in the author's mind as he prepared this manual: the general reader who is interested in an outline knowledge of the subject, the student who seeks to delve into some one phase of mythology, and the more ambitious student who is ready to undertake an investigation in a particular field of research, for whose benefit have been inserted numerous notes with reliable references to the leading authorities. The compression of the material within less than four hundred pages indicates the self-restraint that has been exercised. The wisdom of the author's selection of subject-matter must rest with the individual reader.

In the introductory chapter there is a brief examination and criticism of methods employed by previous investigators, leading to the conclusion that today we must employ the best modern

methods of investigation in the study of myths. There are three types: (1) the myth proper; (2) the saga, such as Homer found in the case of the *Iliad*; and (3) the *Märchen*, the story pure and simple. In the second chapter, "The Beginning of Things," the author draws heavily on the earliest literary sources, Homer and Hesiod. The third and fourth chapters have to do with the children of Cronus. It is Professor Rose's opinion that the sea-mythology of the Greeks was either adopted by them or acquired after their entrance by land into the country occupied by them in historical times, the Balkan peninsula. The interesting suggestion is made in the next chapter on the "Queens of Heaven" that the tales of Hera's quarrels with Zeus reflect actual breaches in friendly relations between the Greek and non-Greek sections of their worshippers. It is further suggested that the familiar story "Let the fairest take it" is part of the epic machinery of the *Cypria*, which presupposes the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It is sheer invention on the part of the author of the *Cypria*. Hera represents royalty, Athena conquest, Aphrodite love incarnate. This is a reversion to folk-lore, to the old problem, "which good thing is best?" All three of the bribes offered were highly esteemed by the Greeks generally. The varied rôles of Athena and Artemis are amply depicted. Chapters VI and VII have to do, the one with the newer gods Apollo, Hermes, and Dionysus, the other with such less outstanding figures as Hephaestus, Cybele, the Nymphs, and the Muses. The lover of literature will pause now and then as he reads the descriptions of the greater divinities, and will not fail to see the author at his best. Not a little of the rich material of this important chapter is traceable to Euripides in particular of the tragic trio. In concluding his treatment of gods, both great and small, the author observes that practically every god is connected in some way with at least one animal. After freely illustrating this point, he pays this indirect tribute to Greek anthropomorphism, that, in general, people who worship divine beasts are in a lower state of culture than those whose deities have human form.

Passing in the eighth chapter to the "Cycles of Saga," Mr. Rose treats first those that are famous regardless of locality, re-

serving a special section for Troy, and incorporates in the ninth chapter such other stories as appear to him worthy of mention. The fact is noted that the various cycles of saga are closely associated with Minoan-Mycenaean sites. One is led to the conviction that with the progress of research much more of our current mythology than we realize at present will be found to have historical basis as new light is shed on the pre-Hellenic period. Pasiphae, well known to mythologists, may well be a lunar goddess who was worshipped in Laconia. Cadmus, we are told, taught the Thebans to write. The Greek alphabet is a modification of the Phoenician script. The Troy saga will make a special appeal in view of the awakening interest in the approaching *bimillennium Vergilianum*. Paris appears in the rôle of war-leader at Troy. He had won his spurs and acquired his new name of Alexander. While still a shepherd he had won the love of Oenone, a nymph to whom he played false. The author distinguishes between the actual campaign against Troy and Homer's version by remarking (p. 241) that even in the saga the Greeks were never able to cut the Trojan communications with their numerous Thracian and Asiatic allies, and that Homer had handled the details with the freedom of a great creative poet. Once more it is a problem of omission. The Wooden Horse may be a confused reminiscence of some Oriental siege-engine. The Orpheus-Eurydice myth is by no means Greek save by adoption. The Lapiths and Centaurs were real people living in Thessaly. Aegeus is a localized Poseidon. The close parallel between the career of his son, Theseus, and that of Heracles is ascribed to deliberate imitation on the part of Attic saga-men of the better-known tale.

Those who love a story will find a rich soil in the tenth chapter, "*Märchen* in Greece and Italy." The gods in Greece often play the same part as the fairies have done in the tales of modern Europe. Jack and the Beanstalk is probably a degenerate descendant of a Greek archetype. So with many others. The concluding chapter, bearing out the sub-title, "Including its Extension to Rome," is entitled "Italian Pseudo-Mythology." One or two of

the stories about Hercules may be native, such as the fight between Hercules and Cacus.

In general the reviewer feels that this new contribution to our mythological bibliography will fill a distinct place. A real and substantial service has been done to the cause of sound scholarship. The style holds the reader's interest throughout. The two Indexes are carefully compiled, and the attention to correct quantities enhances the value of the book for purpose of reference. When one considers the magnitude of the undertaking, he will be impressed with the reliability of the references in general, and the relatively small number of inaccuracies.

ALFRED W. MILDEN

UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI

CHARLES H. SKALET, *Ancient Sicyon With a Prosopographia Sicyonia*: Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press (1928). Pp. 234, 10 plates. Paper \$2.50; cloth \$3.00.

This monograph is the third number of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology. It contains twelve chapters as follows: I, "Situation and Topography"; II, "Natural Products, Industries and Commerce"; III, "The Heroic Age and the Dorian Ascendency"; IV, "The Tyrants of Sicyon"; V, "Sicyon under the Spartan and Theban Hegemonies"; VI, "Sicyon in Hellenistic and Roman Times"; VII, "Sicyonian Sculptors"; VIII, "Sicyonian Painters"; IX, "The Sicyonian Treasuries at Olympia and Delphi"; X, "The Cults of Sicyon"; XI, "The Civilization of Sicyon"; XII, "Prosopographia Sicyonia." The book also contains a Bibliography and an Index.

Ancient Sicyon, the western neighbor of Corinth, was built upon a spacious and level tableland and so situated that its location has always attracted the attention of visitors both modern and ancient. But since the second century A.D. the city has been a ruin, and the present remains are rather scanty. Its free population in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. probably varied between 20,000 and 24,000.

Modern excavation has revealed, among other things, a theater

and a stadium as well as several buildings, some of which belong to Roman times. The city seems to have been named after the *αἶνος* (common gourd or cucumber) which was grown abundantly in the neighborhood. The surrounding territory was likewise particularly suitable for horses, while the mountains were partially covered with timber. The making of an especially fine grade of shoes for women was an important local industry. And it is particularly interesting to note that the so-called Proto-Corinthian vases of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. may well be the work of the local Sicyonian potters.

It is for its sculpture and painting, however, that Sicyon is most famous. Both Polyclitus and Lysippus were probably Sicyonians by birth, not to mention many lesser, but important, names. In painting Sicyon could claim Timanthes, the rival of Parrhasius, who made the famous Sacrifice of Iphigenia; Melanthius, Pausias, and others.

The *Prosopographia* gives a list of 367 names of Sicyonians, stating the essential facts that are known concerning each. The seventeen illustrative figures add much to the text.

Professor Skalet has had no easy task in assembling and organizing his material since he must often deal with fragmentary sources and conflicting traditions. But he has maintained a critical attitude toward his sources, and all chapters are meticulously documented. It is in the chapters on sculpture and painting, however, that he is at his best; and here we are given a clear account of the artistic environment that must have surrounded the people of Sicyon during the flourishing period of their city. And what was true of Sicyon in this respect was also true, in greater or less degree, of other important Greek cities.

For those who wish to know all that is significant in the history and civilization of one of the smaller, but important, Greek city-states, Professor Skalet's monograph will furnish a careful and reliable guide.

E. L. HIGHBARGER

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON, *The Defensor Pacis of Marsilius of Padua*: Cambridge (England), University Press (1928). Pp. xlvii + 517. 35s.

Most readers of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL are more likely to be interested in the significance of the publication of this edition of a fourteenth-century book than in the book itself. The recent growth of interest in the Latin of the Middle Ages and Renaissance is one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of philology. Latinists cannot but take note of this movement, which may have far-reaching effects on the study of Latin in our schools and colleges.

A certain John of Jandun had some part in the production of this book, but the extent of his contribution is uncertain; Previté-Orton believes that it was relatively unimportant. The work was finished in 1324. It is an attack on the supremacy of the pope in temporal matters; it defends a form of government based on that of the Italian city-states. Though an important document in the history of political thought, no edition of it has appeared since 1614.

The present edition is all that could be desired. It was based on a thorough study of the available manuscripts, two of which are used as a basis for the text and are quoted in detail in the Apparatus. A second Apparatus contains chiefly the sources of Marsilius' quotations, but also a number of elucidations. There is an adequate Introduction covering the lives of the author, the work itself, and the manuscripts. There are four indexes. Two give quotations and authors referred to in text and notes. Aristotle, the Bible, and the church fathers bulk largest here, but there are also references to Cicero, Phaedrus, Sallust, and Seneca.

Certain facts about Marsilius and his work are of special interest for the origin of the Renaissance. He was a north Italian who spent much time in France (he was rector of the University of Paris). Such intercourse seems to have been of considerable importance in the revival of learning — witness the case of Petrarch. In his work he gets away in part from mediaeval abstractions based on Aristotle and (to quote Previté-Orton) "meets

practical difficulties with practical remedies . . . in a realistic spirit." "The whole tone of the discussion resembles that of Machiavelli, who indeed may likely have read the *Defensor*, and of the moderns in general" (p. xiv). "The glimmer of modernity, often to be seen elsewhere c. 1300, has suddenly given way therein to a transitory daylight" (p. xv). Marsilius was a friend of another Paduan humanist (or, if you will, precursor of humanism), Mussato, the historian and poet, and no doubt made his contribution to the development of humanism in Padua, which later became one of the important centers of the movement.

B. L. ULLMAN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS, *The Life of Michelangelo*: New York, The Modern Library (1928). Pp. viii + 544. \$0.95.

The Modern Library series, started eight years ago, now includes over 140 books. It is to be composed of "at least one representative work by almost every modern author of first rank." These are published in "complete, unabridged, authorized editions" of convenient pocket size, with attractive binding and clear print.

Symonds' *Life of Michelangelo* is a full and sympathetic treatment of the artist's life, works, and character with appropriate political and historical setting. There are frequent quotations from biographies written by Condivi and Vasari especially, and from the correspondence of Michelangelo with his family, friends, and patrons. Variety and charm are introduced by the use of the author's translations of Michelangelo's poems throughout the book "as documents illustrative of his opinions and sentiments, and also in their bearing on the events of his life" (p. 409).

The style of the narrative shows the impress of a poetic nature in such passages as the following, (p. 408): "Their (Michelangelo's works') tone may be passionate; it is indeed often red-hot with a passion like that of Lucretius and Beethoven; but the genius of the man transports the mind to spiritual altitudes, where the lust of the eye and the longings of the flesh are left behind us in a

lower region. Only a soul attuned to the same chord of intellectual rapture can breathe in that fiery atmosphere and feel the vibrations of its electricity."

Criticisms are usually sane but sometimes at variance with those generally accepted. Regarding the artist's work as a whole there is this statement of interest to classicists (p. 169) :

He was essentially a Romantic as opposed to a Classic artist. That is to say, he sought invariably for character — character in type, character in attitude, character in every action of each muscle, character in each extravagance of pose. . . He compelled the body to become expressive, not, as the Greeks had done, of broad general conceptions, but of the most intimate and poignant personal emotion. This was his main originality. . . . In the rendering of the face and head, then, he chose to be a Classic, while in the treatment of the body he was vehemently modern.

LOUISA V. WALKER

STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

H. G. RAWLINSON, *Intercourse between India and the Western World from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome*²: Cambridge University Press (1926). Pp. vii + 196; map at end.

The aim of this book is "to furnish a succinct account of the intercourse between India and the Greco-Roman world from the earliest times to the fall of Rome" (v). Since it is, as its author claims, the first book which deals with this subject as a whole, it is entitled to some special consideration. The treatment is chronological. There are eight chapters dealing successively with the periods: from the earliest times to the fall of Babylon (1-15); the Persian Empire (16-32); the Maurya Empire (33-68); the Greek dynasties of the Panjab (69-87); the Ptolemies (88-100); and the Roman Empire (101-54). The volume concludes with a chapter on the effects of the intercourse between India and the West (155-80) and a Bibliography and Index (181-96).

Reduced to its simplest form the sketch of interrelations is as follows. There was in actuality no real influence until the period of the brilliant but short-lived Greco-Bactrian dynasty (190-144 B. C.), and even this was meager. The only period in which intercourse becomes worthy of notice is that of the Roman Empire

(contemporary with the Kushan dynasty), the peak coming probably about the time of Trajan, at the period of the Gandhara sculptures. With the overthrow of the Kushan by the nationalistic Gupta dynasty in the fourth century, and the rise of the Persian buffer state as a menace to Rome, all direct intercourse ceases.

From several points of view the book is not satisfactory. Its primary fault is not so much its lack of authority as its lack of digestion. The author mentions his thorough study of all of the passages in Greek and Roman literature dealing with India, many of them "collected, annotated, and translated by the late Dr. J. W. McCrindle, in his six valuable volumes of translations of such references" (v). This work is not accessible to the reviewer for comparison, but it seems clear that Mr. Rawlinson has kept so close to his original as to lose the perspective which his theme demands. Every book, of course, must be conditioned by its sources, but Rawlinson's complete dependence upon them results in a book composed of successive glimpses of India through the eyes of Herodotus, Ctesias, Megasthenes, the author of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, Ptolemy the geographer, and Cosmus Indicopleustes. The work has the appearance, therefore, of a mere narrative epitome of McCrindle's source book.¹ Furthermore, the material in the sources has changed the character of Rawlinson's book as indicated in its title. The volume does not delineate the *intercourse* between India and the West. It is rather a history of Ancient India with stress on its foreign relations. This is the only explanation for the abnormally long account of the reign of the great organizer Chandragupta, who succeeded Alexander. An interesting but irrelevant account of Megasthenes' description of India actually takes up twenty-four pages (37-61). Only a page and a half (63 f.) deal specifically with the subject of intercourse.

The second major fault of the work is its generally careless composition. The book is that of a cultivated amateur or dilettante

¹ Compare for example the expression (146) "Of other notices of India . . . we may select for mention a little pamphlet of the fifth century," etc., with the significant reference at the foot of the page: "McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 178."

rather than that of a scholar. The references, for example, are curiously lackadaisical,² and there is a tendency here and there to spin out material the evidence for which is thin.³ The book has not been brought up to date. Although the title-page records its appearance in 1926, there are in it but two references to works falling as late as 1912, and only a single one as late as 1915⁴; and an inordinate number of references are to works produced in the eighties and nineties of the last century.

Finally, the map, the plates, and the material in the Appendices all are open to criticism. For most readers the map will be practically of no value. It is too limited in scope⁵ to illustrate the book; there are many omissions of places mentioned prominently in the text, and the author has an exasperating habit of referring to place names in one form in the text and in another on the map. The reviewer sees no justification, in a book intended for English readers, for the exclusive use on the map of the ancient Indian nomenclature; and the lack of an index (for which there would have been ample space at the left of the sheet) adds to its futility. The plates are not closely related to the text, only two of the four

² So on p. 164: "This was first discovered, I think, by Burgess, and propounded in the *Indian Antiquary*." Without any explanation the abbreviations *S. P. E.* and *J. R. A. S.* are in frequent use. Publishers and dates of publication are generally omitted, the Bibliography being especially inadequate in this respect.

³ Such as the presentation of the fact that there is no influence of Indian upon Greek literature (169-72). On the whole, there is no point in repeating conjectures merely to deny them. Again, the first chapter (pp. 1-15) presents an unconvincing account of relationships from the earliest times to the fall of Babylon. Aside from the mention of the Mitanni documents (2) and the Ophir expedition of Solomon (10-13), the period dealt with is really that of the Assyrian Empire; and the most that can be said is (13): "The general effect of this intercourse upon any of the countries concerned was not very great." The writer, however, does not seem quite at home in this field, and his paragraph on prehistoric influences in Babylon (14 f) is quite inept.

⁴ This appears in the Appendix, p. 68. — It is a little amusing to find a polemic directed at Lassen's criticism of Ctesias. Lassen's work appeared in 1874.

⁵ The best map for this purpose, even with its relatively poor draughtsmanship, is that of Albert Hermann, in *Die Verkehrswege zwischen China, India und Rom um 100 nach Chr. Geburt* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1922). Although this useful work appeared so long before the publication of Rawlinson's book, no mention of it occurs.

being specifically mentioned. The significance of the portion of the frontispiece which represents a Hindu ship is obvious enough, but the sculpture has much of interest in it which calls for some explanation. The last plate not only is not described or mentioned, but its very subject, Kuvera, is not listed in the Index. A table of dates would have been helpful; instead of it there are appended to appropriate chapters mere perfunctory lists of Ptolemies, Roman emperors, etc., and an "entirely conjectural" chart of the Greco-Bactrian dynasty in the Panjab (85-87). The author should rather have given a single chronological outline.

In the book's favor may be mentioned, as I have stated above, the fact that it is pioneer work and that, for students of the ancient classical world, even this imperfect sketch of its relationships to India may be interesting. There is a good deal of detailed information which the student of Greece and Rome will find valuable. Thus the account of interrelations under the Persians (pp. 16-32) is interesting for the use which Rawlinson makes of Herodotus. The father of history emerges triumphantly from a critical examination, while Ctesias is shown to be a mere romancer. So too the final chapter, on the effects of the intercourse between India and the West, will not be without interest. But the fact which emerges most clearly from the book — viz., that the intercourse between India and the West was confined practically to the period of the Roman Empire — this fact the author does not seem quite to grasp. Moreover he fails to see the real nature of the intercourse, *i.e.* that it was almost exclusively economic; or if he sees the issue, he obscures it by his attempt to include relationships which for the most part did not exist.

WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

CASPER J. KRAEMER, JR.

CHRISTINE LONGFORD, *Vespasian and Some of His Contemporaries*: Dublin, Hodges, Figgis and Co. (1928). Pp. xv + 191.

Scintillating sketches of Vespasian, Agrippa I, and his daughter Bernice (*sic*), the mistress of Titus. For those who enjoy smart

writing they will furnish an evening's entertainment. Every scrap of scandal is dished up neatly. The characterization throughout is almost worthy of Gilbert and Sullivan. The authoress spares the reader any consideration of such dry things as institutional developments and conflicting ideals. One wonders in places whether she has made any profound study of such things herself. She represents the praetor as concerned solely with the public spectacles (p. 22); she translates *praefectus urbi* as "military governor," and states that Flavius Sabinus owed his appointment as *praefectus urbi* to Vitellius (p. 76), the fact being that he had been appointed by Nero twelve years before (Tac., *Hist.* III, 75); she lumps the Stoics with the Cynics and makes them "advocate class warfare" (pp. 113 f.). But why probe too deeply into the historical accuracy of a gaily salacious *jeu d'esprit*?

DONALD MCFAYDEN

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

JAMES PENROSE HARLAND, *Prehistoric Aigina*, a History of the Island in the Bronze Age: Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion (1925). Pp. xii + 121.

This is the doctoral dissertation presented by Professor Harland at Princeton in 1920, as revised after a visit to Aegina in the year 1920-21. It contains the Aeginetan evidence in support of the view of the history of the Peloponnesus set forth in the important paper by the same author, "The Peloponnesus in the Bronze Age," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* xxxiv (1923), 1-62. Briefly that view is as follows: Regarding Neolithic man in the Peloponnesus and his provenience little is known as yet, owing to the small number of traces of him which have hitherto been unearthed. About 2500 B.C. a non-Indo-European people from Asia Minor, whom Harland proposes to name the "Aigaians," conquered the Peloponnesus. Their chief deity was a sea god "Aig-". About 2000 B.C. an Indo-European people from the north, whom Harland would name the "Minyans," conquered the Aigaians. Their chief deity was Poseidon, originally a god of horses. Poseidon eventually absorbed the functions and cults of the god

Aig-. The dialect of the Minyans was represented in historic times by the language of Arcadia and Cyprus. In process of time the Minyans adopted many elements of Minoan art and culture, but Harland denies that the Cretans ever succeeded in establishing colonies in continental Greece. Mycenae and Tiryns were Minyan, *i.e.* Indo-European, towns. About 1400 B.C. a second wave of Indo-Europeans, the "Achaians," reached the Peloponnesus. Their chief god was Zeus, and they spoke a primitive form of Doric. They quickly absorbed the civilization of the Minyans and took over their towns. The "grave circle" at Mycenae, the city walls, and the beehive tombs were their work. Finally, about 1100 B.C., the Dorians, ruder cousins of the Achaians, appeared and introduced iron and geometric pottery, thus bringing the Bronze Age to an end. The dissertation and the essay in *Harvard Studies* should be read together. They constitute an important contribution to the problem of the formation of the Greek People.

DONALD McFAYDEN

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

WILLIAM A. EDWARD, *The Suasoriae of Seneca the Elder*, Introductory Essay, Text, Translation, and Explanatory Notes: Cambridge University Press (1928). Pp. xlviii + 160. 12s. 6d.

For years I have wondered whether the *Memoirs* of Seneca the Elder would ever be included in the Loeb Classics. Would it be possible to translate this work into English? As for the Loeb Classics I am still uninformed; but a translation (or rather an exhaustive edition) of a small though significant portion of the *Memoirs* has at last appeared; and it is a remarkable achievement, almost a *tour de force*, such as could come (let us frankly admit) only from the finest traditions of British scholarship. Now that we have Mr. Edward's work, it is hard to realize that Seneca the Elder "has never before been annotated in whole or in part in English, nor till 1902" (when Bornecque's¹ edition was pub-

¹ H. Bornecque, *Les Déclamations et les Déclamateurs d'après Sénèque le Père*: Lille, Garnier Frères (1902).

lished) "in any European language since the Elzevir edition of 1672!" (p. ix).

Why has Seneca the Elder been so neglected? There are various reasons no doubt; but the *first* is, in my opinion, that in his work we have the classic example of an unhappy and forbidding title, *Oratorum et Rhetorum Sententiae Divisiones Colores* — a title which requires a whole chapter (not to say a volume!) of explanation, before ever a line of the text can be understood. This brings us to Mr. Edward's thirty-seven pages of introduction — scholarly and thorough, but lacking a bit perhaps in simplicity of exposition, or rather in the use of familiar modern equivalents for ancient ideas; for Seneca, after all, was what we should call today a *critic*, combining the characteristics of the literary critic and the dramatic critic. And among all the critics who have ever lived, he was (and is) unique in this respect, that he wrote all his criticism after he had retired — many years after he had heard the performances which he criticised! His unique quality, viz. his verbatim memory, which enabled him to quote at will from ephemeral utterances heard many years before, is referred to by Mr. Edward only in a footnote.² This, however, is merely a question of relative emphasis; the information is all there, and is presented with enthusiasm.

The book will be a welcome addition to school and college libraries alike — not to mention the lay reader, for it is attractive in format and typography — and as for the contents, the sixth and seventh *Suasoriae*, containing unique historical facts and anecdotes, will deeply interest every teacher of Cicero.

The unique excellence of the book, however — let me repeat — is in its English translation, the difficulties of which have been surmounted with extraordinary taste and skill. Imagine the task of translating — from any one language into another — an anthology of excerpts illustrating prose style; for this, apart from other considerations, is what Seneca's work amounts to! It is to be hoped that Mr. Edward will be encouraged to continue, and

² P. xxvi, n. 1.

that we shall some day have his rendering of a part at least of the *Controversiae*.

DEAN P. LOCKWOOD

HAVERFORD COLLEGE

CARL W. BLEGEN, *Zygouries, A Prehistoric Settlement in the Valley of Cleonae*: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1928). Pp. xviii + 227; 199 Figs. in Text; 22 Plates (two plans and twenty color plates). \$15.00.

Anyone who has observed Dr. Blegen at work on a "dig" would expect a full and detailed report on the excavations, and this is what we have in his excellent book on *Zygouries*. It is divided into six chapters, of which the longest by far is that on the Pottery, naturally, for in a prehistoric "dig" pottery comprises the greater part of the "finds" and is so important for its evidence as to chronology and the relations with other regions. The different chapters with the number of pages in each are: I, "The Site" (3); II, "Architecture" (35); III, "Tombs" (36); IV, "Pottery" (105); V, "Miscellaneous Objects" (29); and VI, "Conclusion" (14). An Index of five pages follows. The "finds" are discussed by periods in chronological order.

Zygouries — the mound gets its name from the shrub that grows upon it — is a low-lying hill approximately midway between Corinth and Mycenae; it is below and one mile west of the modern village of Hagios Vasilios. Close by to the south rises the steep Mt. Tretos which separates this valley from the Argolid. Near the site was the intersection of two main prehistoric highways connecting the Isthmus and the Corinthia with the Argolid towns.

The hill is in part natural but in part built up of the débris from the successive settlements, the prehistoric deposit varying from 0.30 to 3.00 meters in depth. Aside from three graves and fragments of walls of the Byzantine Period, the remains on the mound are wholly from the Bronze Age. Levelling of portions of the site during the Bronze Age and in the Byzantine Period have in places confused, even obliterated traces of, the stratification. A surprising feature of *Zygouries* was that house walls of the Early Hel-

ladic Period (*ca.* 2500-2000 B. C.) were brought to light in places only a few inches beneath the surface, and as a result some of the walls had been damaged by the subsequent plowing on the hill — it is still farmed by the monks who spend parts of the year at the monastery of Hagios Demetrios where the excavators lived.

All periods of the Helladic Bronze Age are represented on and around the mound, but particularly and most abundantly the Early Helladic and the Third Late Helladic Period, the latter (*ca.* 1400-1100 B. C.) being the "Mycenaean Age" *par excellence*. Graves of all periods were discovered on a hill *ca.* 500 meters west of the mound and also forty Roman burials. On the mound itself four Middle Helladic graves — three of infants — were found.

Hitherto the architectural remains from the Early Helladic Period were scanty and no house-plans could be determined, but "ten separate houses . . . could . . . be distinguished at Zygouries" (p. 5). The houses were small and rectangular in plan, with walls of sun-dried brick resting on a stone substructure, and flat roofed. They were clustered together in groups, which were separated one from another by narrow crooked streets or alleys. Some of the bricks had been baked hard by the fire which had destroyed the settlement, and so were preserved. The most pretentious house, the "House of the Pithoi," may well have been the dwelling of the chieftain. This and the other houses are described in detail and well illustrated by photographs and plans.

The Middle Helladic Period is represented by scanty remains of walls, as is also the case with Late Helladic I and II. Against the steep eastern slope of the hill, a considerable part of a large building consisting of several rooms, which belonged to Late Helladic III, was uncovered. This appears to have been the basement of the palace and, because of the enormous quantity of unused vases stacked here, has been called the "Potter's Shop."

Following a detailed and well-illustrated description of the graves and their contents, comes the chapter on "Pottery." In this chapter Dr. Blegen is at his best. His description of the fabric, shapes, and patterns — really a difficult task — is remarkably clear and successful. Though he credits the vase-mender with the

clever restoration of a vase from many fragments, I know that he personally found the sherds and the joins that made the restoration of many a vase possible. Some of the vases had been broken into thirty and forty pieces. His differentiation of the Early Helladic glazed wares is also lucidly presented. Of especial interest is the pottery from the "Potter's Shop," consisting "of at least 1330 vases of twenty different shapes" (p. 143). Of these, sixty-five were found intact and *ca.* 200 have been put together. All these vases were "clearly in unused condition, and some of the intact examples looked, when washed, as fresh as though they had been made yesterday" (p. 143). The pottery is well illustrated with color plates and illustrations in the text; and the style, decoration, and development are exhaustively treated.

In addition to the prehistoric pottery, the two Geometric vases and the nine Roman pots, found in tombs, are described and illustrated. "It is as examples of the latest kind of Roman pottery found in Greece that these poor vases from Zygouries have their chief interest" (p. 179).

Following the description of the miscellanea — among which the Early Helladic bronze dagger and the Cycladic marble figurine are especially noteworthy — the author in the final chapter reviews the evidence from the excavations and conservatively draws his conclusions. The connection between the cultures of the mainland and of the Islands in the Early Helladic Period is discussed and re-affirmed, and "the demonstration of this fact . . . may be looked upon as one of the chief contributions of the excavations at Zygouries" (p. 213). Also analogies with Crete and synchronisms between Early Helladic III and Early Minoan III show that "the Early Helladic people of northeastern Peloponnesus kept in touch with their kinsmen of Crete" (p. 215). Likewise support is thereby given to the system of chronology previously established for the Helladic mainland.

The material civilization of a small Early Helladic town is succinctly portrayed for us; and the history of Zygouries, so far as is possible, is sketched. "Zygouries was a typical small town of northeastern Peloponnesus, sharing in a more or less uniform

civilization which extended from the south of Greece to beyond the Malian Gulf" (p. 215). In this period it was a comparatively prosperous community, as the abundance of the remains from this period attest. But from the destruction of the Early Helladic settlement — as a result of what I have called the "Minyan Migration" — till the Third Late Helladic Period Zygouries was a site of little importance. In the last period of the Bronze Age the site attained "once more some measure of prosperity," but in this period "the dependency of Zygouries upon Mycenae . . . is complete" (p. 216).

Dr. Blegen has produced a work which will ever be one that must be consulted by the student of Prehistoric Hellas. Of course, one may not agree with all of his views — I still feel that 1400 B.C. should be taken as the dividing-point between Middle and Late Helladic — and, as in most mortal works, there are a few errors. The reviewer is not in sympathy with the practice of tracking down and calling attention to an undotted *i* or an uncrossed *t*; but the reader of this work will not be disturbed by misprints. A more critical reviewer might desire uniformity in the use of the term *sauceboat* (with quotes on pp. 20 and 79; without quotes on pp. 18 and 78). There are several errors due to an omission of another plan or of figures from Plate I. Hence on p. 21 one must delete "Plate II," and after "Fig. 18" insert "Trench I, Plate I"; on p. 25, "Plate I" should be omitted or placed after "Fig. 22"; there is no "area marked 1 on the plan" (p. 23) nor an "area marked 9 on the plan" (p. 27). The distance between Athens and the press at Cambridge probably explains the foregoing errors.

On p. 46, there is a confusion in the terms of direction for Fig. 38: *e.g.* 5 seems to lie southeast, not northeast, of 4; 8 does not lie close by and to the east of 6; 13 lies, not near the middle of the east side, but at the north end of the grave, etc. Apparently the figures in the Excavation Log-book, to which the directions apply, were changed in the plan made for publication. The numbers, rather than the directions, seem really to be at fault. Similarly the incorrect numbers on p. 78, referring to Plate VI,

may be explained. And are there not six, rather than four, raised bands on the jar illustrated on p. 164? But compared with the numerous figures and measurements given, these errors are relatively few and are lost sight of in the general excellence of the work.

The Harvard University Press can justly feel proud of this publication with its satisfactory format, excellent paper, and type. The illustrations in the text are very clear and as a whole superior to those in the author's previous work *Korakou*¹; and the color plates, made from the water-colors of Mr. Piet de Jong, are successful even in depicting the tints and texture of stones. Incidentally the author is generous, almost to a fault, in his acknowledgments (in the Preface) of his thanks even for photographs pertaining to his own excavation. *Zygouries*, like *Korakou*, makes a great contribution to our knowledge of Prehistoric Hellas, and Dr. Blegen is to be congratulated upon the attractive and scholarly presentation of the evidence from this site.

J. PENROSE HARLAND

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

CLINTON WALKER KEYES, *Cicero's De Re Publica and De Legibus*, with an English Translation (Loeb Classical Library); New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1928). Pp. 533. \$2.50.

Our standards for philosophical thinking are so thoroughly established for us by the Greeks, the world's masters for all time in philosophical theory, that we are prone to esteem very lightly any contribution that the "practical" Roman mind might attempt to make to the realm of philosophical speculation. Cicero, the orator and statesman, was no philosopher in the strict sense of the word; he made no pretensions to originality in that field; he added nothing to the creative thought of the world; but he was a diligent student of philosophy and he loved his Plato and Zeno and Aristotle and the rest; and with his consummate mastery of the Latin tongue he made the philosophy of the Greek masters

¹ Boston, American School of Classical Studies in Athens (1921).

accessible to Roman readers and became the greatest teacher that Rome ever had. The authority with which he spoke to the centuries that followed him has waned, but the popularity of his so-called "philosophical" writings is still great. The *Republic* is Cicero's first attempt to Romanize Greek philosophy — written, as he says, while he himself still wielded the helm of the ship of state and before advancing tyranny silenced his tongue in the Forum and the senate. The *Laws* followed immediately as a sequel to the *Republic*. Both, as the titles naturally suggest, are largely dependent upon Plato and Aristotle and the Stoics. But Cicero has woven into the dialogue by way of illustration a vast deal of Roman history and political science and economics and fired it with his own burning patriotism and clothed it all with his own matchless eloquence. In spite of the fragmentary condition in which these works have come down to us, they deserve far more attention at the hands of classical students than they receive. It is to be hoped that Dr. Keyes's well-edited text and admirable rendering (it is one of the most satisfactory volumes in the series) will help much to make Cicero's political ideals and theories of statecraft more familiar to teachers and students of the classics.

WALTER MILLER

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Marie B. Denneen, North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, North Carolina. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

Magazines as a Source of Reference

Many of our current magazines contain excellent material for background work in Latin classes. Copies of back numbers may be secured from the publishers, from bookstores, or from pupils whose parents do not wish to keep complete files. The following lists have been secured from the publishers:

The National Geographic Magazine

Articles appearing in this magazine that have contained illustrations of the ruins of ancient buildings and text references to ancient Roman and Grecian civilizations are:

"The Glory That Was Greece," December, 1922;

"The Greece of Today," October, 1915;

"The Splendor of Rome," June, 1922;

"Story and Legends of the Pontine Marshes," April, 1924;

"Ancient Carthage, In Light of Modern Exploration," April, 1924;

"Inexhaustible Italy," October, 1916 (Pompeii);

"Sicily, Island of Vivid Beauty," October, 1927 (Grecian).

The December, 1922, issue is out of print at present, but a reference copy may be secured in school or public library files.

All the other issues are in print and may be ordered from The National Geographic Society, Washington, D. C. The price of each issue is fifty cents. Each of these articles is distinguished by its large number of illustrations.

Travel

May, 1923: Roman Streets and Suburban Vistas.

January, 1913: Italy — Assisi.

November, 1915: Italy — Austria Border.

December, 1913: Italy — Carrara.

November, 1913: Italy — Certaldo.

August, 1914: Italy — Garda Lake.

August, 1913: Italy — Naples.

November, 1916: An Italian Inferno.

August, 1919: Where Nero Played.

October, 1922: Roman Incidents and Impressions.

December, 1912: Italy — Rome — Ancient.

January, 1914: Italy — Rome — Street Scenes.

September, 1913: Italy — Rome — Suburbs.

November, 1912: Italy — Sorrento.

January, 1927: The Romance of Catacombs.

November, 1926: What the Italians Think of America.

Address *Travel*, National Travel Club, 7 West Sixteenth Street, New York City. Single copies, thirty-five cents.

The Translation of the Subjunctive

Dean S. E. Stout, of Indiana University, has furnished the following suggestions:

Many students get the notion that they must somehow work into their translation one of the auxiliaries "may," "can," "might," "could," "would," or "should" whenever they find a subjunctive in Latin. This probably arises in part from the frequency of the clause of purpose in Caesar. This misconception causes a lot of trouble. It is a phase of a broader misconception, viz., that translations must correspond to forms rather than to meaning. It is a phase of what we sometimes call "translation-English"; and that is an abomination toward which most of us who teach Latin are too tolerant.

When the various constructions of the subjunctive are first introduced attention should be called with each construction to the fact that many of them are translated into English by indicatives. Such are subjunctives in most clauses of result, time, cause, characteristic, indirect questions, and in very many subordinate clauses in indirect discourse. When the first twelve chapters of the first book of the *Gallic War* have been read, the appropriate translation of the subjunctives may be made a point for special observation in a review. Probably the following will appear to all to require English indicatives: *Praestarent, vagarentur, possent* (chap. II); *pertinerent, obtenturus esset, possent* (chap. III); *conaretur, cogerent, consciverit* (chap. IV); *possent* (twice), *viderentur* (chap. VI); *nuntiatum esset, haberent, vellent* (chap. VII); *possent* (chap. IX); *pos-*

sent, debuerint (chap. XI); *fluat, possit, exisset* (chap. XII). There may develop difference of opinion in regard to *ducerentur* in chap. VI.

Much will be gained when pupils learn that constructions must be understood in order to comprehend the meaning exactly, but that, when the meaning has been clearly seen, the correct translation is the one that expresses that meaning in correct and natural English.

A Derivative Game

Miss Anna J. Plumb, Janesville High School, Janesville, Wisconsin, contributes the following suggestions for A Derivative Game for the Classroom or for a Parent-Teachers' Meeting:

This simple game was devised for a Parent-Teachers' meeting and was used in the following way:

Each department was asked to put on a stunt showing the benefits derived from its own work. There were posters everywhere and exercises of different sorts to show off first one department and then another.

The Latin department had some good-looking posters and scrapbooks on exhibit, but for our stunt we put out cards with simple Latin words written in large script so that they could be plainly seen. We told the bewildered fathers and mothers that they were going to study Latin for a few minutes. They gasped at the audacity of imposing upon them in this manner. We then gave them paper and pencil and told them to number the words as they were on the cards and to put down an English word suggested by the Latin word. The one getting the greatest number of correct English words would, of course, get a prize. Many who had never had any Latin were delighted to see English through Latin words in this manner.

There are only fifty words on the cards, but the game gives parents some idea of the value of Latin from the standpoint of English. If it is used in the classroom it can be handled in any way the teacher sees fit. The following are the words used:

- | | | |
|---------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1. terra | 11. vita | 21. vir |
| 2. devastatus | 12. occupo | 22. sacer |
| 3. forma | 13. disciplina | 23. auxilium |
| 4. clara | 14. gloria | 24. actus |
| 5. familia | 15. gratia | 25. defendo |
| 6. silva | 16. visus | 26. populus |
| 7. navigatus | 17. numerus | 27. locus |
| 8. victoria | 18. publicus | 28. varius |
| 9. dono | 19. captivus | 29. firmus |
| 10. memoria | 20. malus | 30. tardus |

31. medius	38. natura	45. pes (pedis)
32. agricultura	39. scriptus	46. corpus
33. integer	40. trans	47. hostis
34. porta	41. notus	48. libertas
35. egregius	42. transporto	49. pulsus
36. primus	43. filius	50. mater
37. diligentia	44. timidus	

A Latin Club Game

A game called "Excavating the Ruins of Troy" may cause a little amusement at a Latin Club party. Around the room are hidden "the war chariot of Achilles," "Hector's helmet," etc., all purchased from the ten-cent store. Each pupil represents a famous museum (British Museum, Vatican, Capitoline, Metropolitan, Munich, Vienna, etc.), and tries to find and identify treasures for his museum. Each is given a blank "excavator's report," with numbered lines; the hidden treasures are numbered, also. The museum identifying the most treasures correctly is allowed to take its choice of the treasures; the rest are "auctioned off" to the various museums, which furnish payment in the form of Latin songs, Latin proverbs, Latin poetry, etc., recited for the amusement of the company, or in the form of "stunts."

LILLIAN B. LAWLER

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

A Vergil Examination

Dr. F. J. Miller has very kindly sent the department the following report which he received recently from a student in his Teacher's Training Course in Vergil by correspondence — Miss Lucy E. Hunter, Winfield, Kansas.

What shall be the character of the Vergil examination at the close of the year's work? In these days of objective tests and emphasis on content doubtless the teacher already has a fair conception of the knowledge of his class. Therefore, why not make the examination largely interpretative rather than factual? This would give freshness and variety to the exercise and would lead the pupil to think over the year's work as a whole. It would counteract the tendency on his part to look upon the *Aeneid* as a mere assemblage of Latin constructions and vocabulary; it would rather help him to a realization of it as a poem, a piece of literature that has

lived through the ages because it is the expression of a poet's conception of his nation and its mission in the world. With this purpose in view I would offer the following questions as suggestive of a type of examination which would not only add variety to the usual drill but at the same time leave the pupil with a sense of the literary significance of the poem.

1. Show how the introductory lines, 1-11, are suggestive of the theme, purpose, and atmosphere of the *Aeneid* as a whole.
2. Explain the attitude of Juno toward the Trojans throughout the six books. What are the causes of this? Name some of the most striking manifestations of her spirit.
3. What relation do Books II and III bear, chronologically, to Book I? Explain Vergil's probable reason for such an arrangement. What effect does it produce on the reader?
4. Translate lines 157-79 of Book I. Scan ten lines. Select two poetic constructions and two figures of speech found in the passage.
5. How is Book VI a fitting conclusion to this first half of the *Aeneid*? How does it indicate the achievement of Aeneas' mission and at the same time accomplish the author's purpose of glorifying the reign of Augustus?
6. Show in what way Aeneas is a figure in the hands of Providence working out a destined mission; in what way he is a very human character.

The Motivation of the *Aeneid* as a National Epic

A request for information from Sister Maria Walburg of Mount Saint Joseph College, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, has resulted in an exceedingly valuable contribution from Dr. Frank J. Miller. The letter is quoted in part:

"The editorial in the February number of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL in which Professor F. J. Miller recommends the introduction of courses in Vergil into college curricula brings to my mind the fact that Professor Miller gave a course in Vergil's *Aeneid* VII-XII at the State University of Iowa last summer. The bulletin giving a description of this course states that the 'selections from the second half of the *Aeneid* will be made on the basis of the motivation of the poem as a national epic.' Would it be in keeping with the scope of your column in the CLASSICAL JOURNAL to publish such a list of selections or would it be asking too much to request you to ask from Professor Miller a list of these selections?"

The Motivation of the Aeneid

In order to arouse and hold the interest of young students in their study of the *Aeneid*, it is all essential that they be made to realize from

the first that this poem is more than a mere story. Some unifying thread, some motivation must be found which will explain it and make it of vital importance, first to the Roman readers of Vergil's own time, and through them to our students of today.

This unification and motivation, as we showed in our paper on "Vergil's Motivation of the *Aeneid*" in the CLASSICAL JOURNAL for October, 1928, are to be found in the interpretation of the *Aeneid* as a patriotic or national epic.

For the benefit of teachers who may desire to direct their students in such an interpretation, we offer the following analysis of the patriotic elements in the poem, together with the selections from all twelve books upon which the analysis is based.

The Aeneid as a National Epic

Vergil seeks to arouse the Romans to a sense of the greatness and glory of Rome:

1. In his treatment of Italian and Roman
 - a) History
 - b) Archaeology
 - c) Geography
 - d) Genealogy
 - e) Etymology
2. In his presentation of the supernatural element in the origin and history of Rome, showing how this nation was divinely ordained and produced. (Compare the history of the Children of Israel. There are many remarkable parallels)
3. In his story of the development of the national religion
4. In that he shows how Aeneas was led step by step by divine providence through all his wanderings, the evidence growing clearer and clearer as he advanced. (Collect these revelations in their order)
5. In his prophecy of Rome's greatness and her mission, her world-wide and eternal sway
6. In his glorification of Augustus and the consequent popularizing of his regime

The following passages may be used in the development of the theme as outlined above:

I, 1-11; 19-22; 198-207; 229-97; 530-34; 544-58

II, 228-97; 601-23; 679-720; 776-89

III, 13-18; 85-120; 147-71; 183-91; 247-57; 278-80; 359-462; 493-505; 521-47

IV, 105-14; 219-37; 265-78; 345-61; 612-29

V, 80-83; 104-23; 604-745; 796-815

- VI, 56-97; 756-892
VII, 1-322; 572-640
VIII, 1-152; 306-68; 454-731
IX, 77-158; 590-671
X, 1-117; 215-45; 439-537; 606-88; 755-908
XI, 1-375
XII, 1-80; 161-215; 383-499; 614-952

FRANK J. MILLER, *Professor Emeritus*

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Latin Basketball and Football

High-school Latin students will enjoy Language Sports as played at St. Mary's High School, Sandusky, Ohio. The descriptions of the games were sent in by Sister M. Aloise.

The Freshman Latin class of our school has worked out a scheme by which declensions, conjugations, vocabulary exercises, and sentence work have become really enjoyable. Two games which have been especially successful are modifications of football and basketball.

Basketball

The class is divided into two teams with captains on each side, whose duty it is to see that each member understands the work and does his work completely and correctly. One pupil is time-keeper, and another keeps the score. Quarters may be five or six minutes each. A player from each side is sent to the black-board, on which is drawn the diagram of a basketball floor. The circle in the center is marked *A*, and those under the baskets, *B* and *C* respectively. The teacher tosses the ball by giving a sentence to be translated into Latin, a conjugation of a verb in a certain tense, a declension, or the subject-matter she is trying to drill. The player who is finished first carries the ball to position *B* if he belongs to Team II, to *C* if to Team I. The score-keeper marks a cross at *B* or *C* to denote the position of the ball. If the same side wins in the second play, the player makes a basket, and scores two points. If he does not win, the opposite side carries the ball back to center *A*. Then the winner of the next play carries it again to position before his basket, and the next winner tosses it in. If neither one has the

work correct and if neither can readily find the error, a foul is called and they take their places. The next two players come up, and the winner wins one point. After fouls and baskets, the ball is back to center. The score is marked on separate scoreboards, and quarters are called as in the real game. The students are intensely interested in this game and easily manage their lessons, because of the enthusiasm aroused.

Football

In football two balls are used, marked as crosses or little balls on the regular diagram of a football field. Starting at center, the winning side carries the ball twenty yards toward the goal which is marked. The teams work in opposite directions, and the side reaching its goal first wins six points for the touchdown. Then the captains play for the extra point. The quarters are terminated by a certain number of downs, counting each time they are up.

Helps for the Vergil Class

Recently one of the Chicago newspapers published a picture showing some women of Sicily in a religious procession to avert danger from Mount Etna. The women have their hair hanging, for, according to an old Sicilian custom, the hair must be loose in time of danger. This picture helped the members of my Vergil class understand the procession of the Trojan women, *crinibus Iliades passis* (*Aeneid* I, 480).

On the day following the anniversary of the Chicago fire appeared the following heading to an article describing a program given in honor of the day: "Chicago Refugees Relive Time of Terror. Relish Stories of Former Hardships." This made clearer the meaning of the words of Aeneas to his shipwrecked comrades: *forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit* (*Aeneid* I, 203).

ELIZABETH LAWRENCE FENTON

WHEATON COLLEGE ACADEMY
WHEATON, ILLINOIS

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Car., for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the November issue, for example, appears on October fifteenth and that the forms close on September fifth.]

Berlin

The hundredth anniversary of the German Archaeological Institute will be celebrated at Berlin on the twenty-first of April. There is a high degree of propriety in the fact that the date of the ancient Parilia was chosen for this purpose.

Ellisville, Mississippi

The Latin Students of the Jones County Agricultural High School and Junior College at Ellisville have an interesting club that meets twice a month. The programs give additional study in the history, religion, customs, and games of the Romans. At one meeting the gods and goddesses appeared in person and told of their places in Roman history. At another a *secutor* and *retiarius* entertained with a thrilling fight. Again Cicero's oratory held the interest of the club as he denounced Catiline, while members of the Senate sat by.

In addition to regular meetings, the club has a project for each term. A banquet was the project for the first term. This is an annual affair. Last year Maecenas entertained in honor of Horace. This year the occasion was the feast at the wedding of members of two prominent Roman families. Cupid was there, too, and caused much merriment. For the second term the project is a play; and for the third there is to be a meeting in the Forum. The students decide what their project will be and take much interest in learning how it must be carried out.

Eta Sigma Phi Medal

This medal (see Fig. 1) is now available as an award for honor students in fourth-year Latin (normally Vergil — Cicero, if Vergil was read in the junior year), and costs \$1.50 each. It is being distributed under the auspices of the national fraternity of Eta Sigma Phi by Epsilon Chapter at the University of Iowa, which suggested the idea and originated the design, through a student acting as Registrar. Neither the national organization nor Epsilon Chapter has funds to maintain a book-keeping department or a staff of secretaries. Will not Latin teachers, therefore, kindly familiarize themselves with the conditions of the award as fully set forth in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* for March (pp. 476 f.) and send their orders accordingly, *including payment with order*? Money will be cheerfully refunded upon request. Orders should not be deferred until the last minute, since there is uncertainty as to the aggregate of medals that should be struck at this time. It is hoped to award several hundred this year, and at least a thousand *per annum* hereafter.

University of Iowa

At the eleventh annual Classical Conference of the state, it was announced that reports from 108 high schools showed a registration of 7463 students in Latin at the beginning of the present academic year, as compared with 6875 at the same period in 1927, a net increase of 8½ per cent.

Professor Roy C. Flickinger has been elected an honorary member of the Archaeological Society in Athens in recognition of his "exceptional contributions to Science and devotion to the work of the Archaeological Society."

Linguistic Institute

The second annual session of the Linguistic Institute will be held under the auspices of the Linguistic Society of America at New Haven, Conn., July 8-August 16, 1929. There will be thirty-six courses offered by twenty-one scholars in the field of linguistics. The work is primarily intended for advanced students, scholars, and specialists. The director is Professor Edgar H. Sturtevant of Yale University, from whom a full announcement of courses and other information may be obtained.

University of Missouri

The Alpha Mu Chapter of Eta Sigma Phi was organized at the University of Missouri in June, 1928. It has taken the place of the Classical Club, which had been in existence here with slight interruptions since 1908. In planning the program for the current year, it was decided to make the reading of Vergil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* the chief activity. Several students and faculty members at Missouri are planning to go to



Fig. 1. —

ETA SIGMA
PHI MEDAL

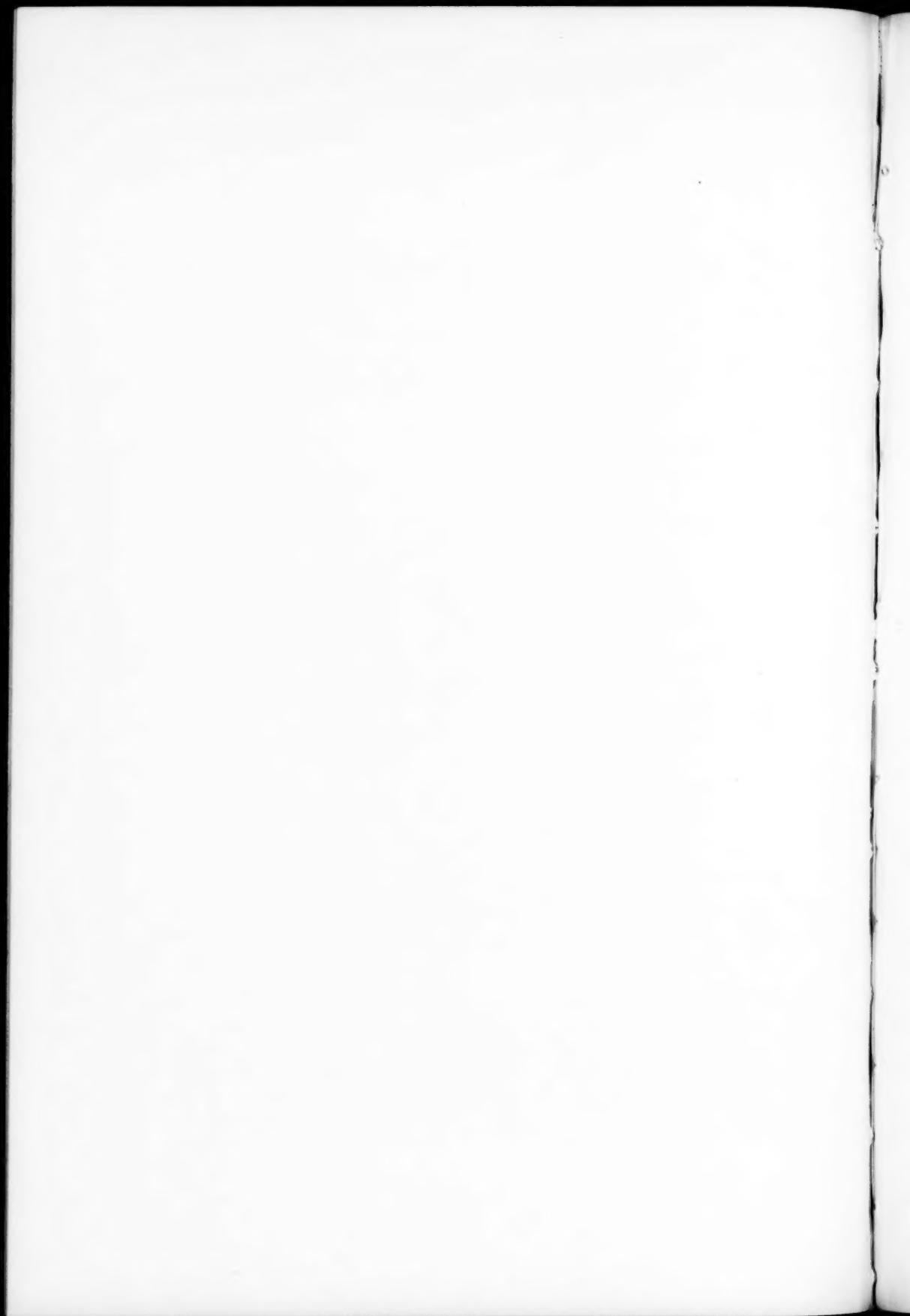
See pp. 476 f.
and 636



Fig. 2. —

VERGIL
BOOKPLATE

See p. 637



Italy for the Vergil celebration in 1930, and accordingly a great deal of attention is being given to that poet.

Tennessee Philological Association

The twenty-third annual meeting of the Tennessee Philological Association was held at Memphis, Tenn., on February 22 and 23, 1929. Papers of interest to classical teachers were read as follows: "Euripides: Professor of Abnormal Psychology," by Arthur Crownover, Jr., Vanderbilt University; "Descriptive Animal Names in Sanskrit," by Edwin Lee Johnson, Vanderbilt University; "The Greek Tense," by C. B. Williams, Union University; "The Relation between the *Priapea* and the *Vergilian Appendix*," by R. F. Thomason, Southwestern; "Putting Heart Throbs into Latin Lessons," by Mrs. Pauline Page, Trenton High School; "The Classics and Education," (President's Address), by A. W. McWhorter, University of Tennessee; "Euripides: *The Hecuba*," by T. C. Hutton, Carson and Newman College; "The Value of Latin in the High School," by Mrs. W. M. Wells, Martin High School; "Logic and Language," by G. M. Savage, Union University; "The Ancient Hills, Valleys, and Streets in Modern Rome," by Ada Haines, Central High School; and "The Growth of the *Aeneid* VII-XII," by R. B. Steele, Vanderbilt University.

Vergil Celebration

A bookplate (see Fig. 2), to be pasted in Vergil texts in connection with the bimillennial celebration in October, 1930, has been prepared by the sub-committee on "Vergilian Reading" (chairman, Miss Mildred Dean, of Washington, D.C.) of the general committee appointed by the American Classical League. The design was drawn by Mr. Ben Yoe Morrison, of Washington, the head being taken from a picture in the museum at Nimes and the motto from the *Fifth Eclogue*, vs. 43. The actual size of the bookplate is about 4x6 inches. The same committee has also arranged for a festival play on the life of Vergil to be presented in April, 1930. This pageant has just been written by Mrs. Alice Coyle Torbert, who composed the pageant dealing with the history of Georgetown, Va. Copies of the festival play may be ordered from Mrs. Torbert, 3107 Dumbarton Ave., Washington, D.C., at sixty-five cents each, post-paid. Reduction is made on orders of ten or more.

In a recent conference at Columbia University, upon the initiative of Miss Frances Sabin and Dean Anna P. McVay, plans were matured for the preparation of a set of slides to be used in commemoration of the Bimillennium Vergilianum. It was decided that this set should be comprised of fifty pictures, which will show every phase of life that will give background or meaning or color to the life of the poet. In addition to this

element there will be pictures to illustrate the work of the poet, and others to show the response of artists to the story of the *Aeneid*.

The Classical Department of the Metropolitan Museum gave valuable help in working out this program, and the following outline was arranged. Pictures will be used that will throw light on the actual remains of Vergil's time; views of Rome of that time, both actual and the work of artists; mediaeval ideas of the life of that time; Greek representations of Vergilian stories; actual remains of Trojan times; map of the wanderings of Aeneas; and art reproductions in statuary and in painting of the story of the *Aeneid*. Such is the general outline, and an invitation is extended to any one interested in this program to assist in the work of assembling the best pictures that can be found for this set. Whoever has such a picture, will be conferring a favor by expressing a willingness to loan it for a few days. It is better to have an original photograph for making a slide; but other pictures, if they have educational value or add interest to the subject, may be used. Any picture sent to Mrs. C. W. Eastman, Iowa City, Iowa, will have prompt attention. If not of use in the set, it will be promptly returned. If use can be made of it, it will be kept for a few days and then returned.

The new set of slides will be ready for delivery before January, 1930.

Washington, D. C.

Dr. William John Cooper, new Commissioner of the Bureau of Education, was sworn in on February 11, 1929. He graduated in 1906 from the University of California, where he specialized in Latin and history; and for three years after graduation he taught these subjects at Stockton, California.

Winchester, Kentucky

Professor B. T. Spencer, head of the Greek department of Kentucky Wesleyan College, passed away on January 24, 1929, at the close of the day's work. For half a century he had taught in his *Alma Mater*. Professor O. F. Long, of Northwestern University, writes of him as follows:

In the early days when I knew him in the classroom Professor Spencer was of course not yet the "Grand Old Man" of later times, but that figure was well forecast. He possessed a strong personality and taught with a spirit that was contagious. His devotion to the cause of the classics was notable and merits tribute. Indeed through most of his long career the classics were a matter of course in his college rather than a Cause, and his rich personality and sincere scholarship kept the high standard pretty much unquestioned. But students would have chosen this dominant character whatever his subject. Professor Spencer's lectures and class hours were full of inspiration because the fruits of sound scholarship were set forth with sanity and humor, wisdom and breadth of outlook. Cato might have called him "*vir bonus docendi peritus*," and his beloved Socrates will test his wisdom.

Recent Books

Compiled by HARRY M. HUBBELL, Yale University

- ALLEN, BERNARD MELZAR, AND PHILLIPS, JOHN L., *Latin Composition*²: Boston, Allyn and Bacon (1928). Pp. 346. \$1.25.
- CICERO, *Cicero the Politician*, being the *Pro Sestio* and *Philippic II*, partly in the Original and partly in Translation, edited by H. L. ROGERS AND T. R. HARLEY: New York, Oxford University Press (1928). Pp. 226. \$0.90.
- CLEMENS, *Clementis Ars Grammatica*, primum edidit JOANNES TOLKIEHN: Leipzig, Dieterich (1928). Pp. lx+113. M. 14.
- EMPEROR, JOHN BERNARD, "The Catullian Influence in English Lyric Poetry, Circa 1600-1650" (*University of Missouri Studies*, Vol. III, No. 3): Columbia, University of Missouri (1928). Pp. 133. \$1.25.
- FOSTER, WALTER EUGENE, AND ARMS, SAMUEL DWIGHT, *First Year Latin*²: Richmond, Va., Johnson Publishing Co. (1928). Pp. 369. \$1.28.
- GARDNER, M. C., *A Latin Book for Beginners*, a Preparation for the Reading of Latin Literature, Part II: New York, Oxford University Press (1928). Pp. 22. \$0.60.
- HARTE, GEOFFREY BRET, *The Villas of Pliny*, a Study of the Pastimes of a Roman Gentleman: Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co. (1929). Pp. vii+72. \$7.50.
- HAULENBECK, RAYMOND F., *Beginnings of Rome, for Beginners in Latin*: New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co. (1929). Pp. xxi+458.
- MACKAIL, J. W., *The Lesson of Imperial Rome*: London, John Murray (1928). Pp. 32. 1s.
- MILLER, WALTER, *Daedalus and Thespis*, the Contributions of the Ancient Dramatic Poets to our Knowledge of the Arts and Crafts of Greece; Vol. I, Architecture and Topography: New York, The Macmillan Co. (1928). Pp. 329. \$5.50.
- OECUMENIUS, *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse*, edited with Notes by H. C. HOSKIER: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press (1928). Pp. x+263. \$4.00.
- OWEN, S. G., Editor for the Council of the Classical Association, *Year's Work in Classical Studies, 1927-28*: London, J. W. Arrowsmith (1929). Pp. 134. 3s. 6d.
- PEARSON, HENRY CARR, and Others, *Latin One*: New York, The American Book Co. (1929). Pp. 554. Ill. \$1.40.

- PETRONIUS, *The Satiricon*, edited by EVAN T. SAGE (Century Latin Series): New York, Century Co. (1929). Pp. 268. \$2.35.
- ROBIN, LEON, *Greek Thought and the Origins of the Scientific Spirit*: London, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. (1929). Pp. 430. 21s.
- SMITH, MINNIE LOUISE, *Smith's Latin Lessons*, revised by HAROLD G. THOMPSON: Boston, Allyn and Bacon (1928). Pp. 523. Ill. \$1.40.
- TACITUS, *De Vita Iuli Agricolae and De Germania*,² with Introduction, Notes, Appendices, and Index by ALFRED GUDEMAN: Boston, Allyn and Bacon (1928). Pp. xii+409.
- WRIGHT, F. A., *A Book of Latin Prose and Verse, from Cato and Plautus to Bacon and Milton*: London, G. Routledge and Sons (1929). Pp. 204. 5s.